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SHORT REVIEW

OF THE

SLAVE TRADE

AND SLAVERY,

WITH

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE BENEFIT
WHICH WOULD ARISE FROM CULTIVATING
TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS

BY

FREE LABOUR.

BIRMINGHAM:
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pages were compiled about the close of the year 1825. Since that period the State of Slavery in our Colonies has again been brought under discussion in Parliament; but nothing which has since occurred, either there or elsewhere, has tended in the smallest degree to weaken, in the minds of many Friends to the Abolition of Slavery, the settled conviction they before entertained of the paramount importance of that view of the question which it is the main object of the present publication to elucidate. Although some of the observations which follow may have a more particular reference to the above period, yet it is believed that the greater part will be equally applicable to the present.

Birmingham, Feb. 1827.

REVIEW, &c.

IT is the object of the following compilation to present at one view to those persons whose thoughts have never been much directed to the subject, a sketch of the nature and extent of the Slave Trade, and of the evils inseparable from the condition of Slavery; to point out the failure of all the efforts hitherto made to abolish the one or mitigate the other, and to draw the public attention to a principle, by the gradual but certain operation of which, it is believed, they may both be yet undermined and overthrown. When the vast mass of physical and moral evil which Slavery has caused, and is still causing, has been briefly brought before the reader, it is hoped that an anxious desire will be produced for its abolition; and an ample and interesting field of enquiry will then be open to him as to the means best calculated for effecting it.

Humanity has hitherto done little, notwithstanding her strenuous and persevering efforts, towards accomplishing her purposes of mercy, and we may now reasonably ask, whether her means of success are not to be found in the co-operation of motives and interests, not yet sufficiently regarded in reference to the present subject, but which, if employed in her service, would essentially contribute to secure the triumph of her cause.

As the History, Nature, and Consequences of Slavery, prove it to be incompatible with the prosperity of those who maintain it; and eloquently illustrate the position "That it is the interest of every man to do right," it is hoped that these pages will make it apparent to all unprejudiced minds, that not mercy and justice alone, but every dictate of common sense, and every principle of sound policy, require its destruction.

May no one close the following statement without a sense of his individual responsibility on this deeply momentous subject. Let each faithfully examine what are the means within his own power of absolving himself from a participation in the crime of his country, and of contributing to remove the stain of its guilt. Those means, however insufficient alone to effect so vast an object, are yet the means most important to *him;* being all that to him are delegated,—all for which he is answerable.—They cannot be well employed and effect nothing: if rightly used they will, at least, produce a return of peace to his own bosom, whilst their neglect may be followed by bitter remorse. Let no man under-rate his capabilities, or overlook his resources, in a cause which so authoritatively demands a faithful examination into the powers with which he is invested. Let him diligently investigate his possessions of money, talent, influence: and pause, solemnly pause, before he pronounce, that *he can do nothing* for his afflicted Brethren in Bondage.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE SLAVE TRADE commenced very soon after the discovery of America.

So early as the year 1503, a few Negro Slaves had been sent into the New World. In 1511 Ferdinand the Fifth permitted them to be carried in greater numbers. After his death, Bartholomew de Las Casas, the Bishop of Chiafra, made a proposal to Cardinal Ximenes for the establishment of a regular system of commerce in the persons of the native Africans. The Cardinal refused to accede to this proposal; but after his death, Charles the Fifth granted a patent to one of his Flemish favourites containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand Negroes into America. The favourite sold his patent to some Genoese merchants, and they were the first who brought into a regular form that commerce for slaves between Africa and America which has since been carried to such amazing extent. The first importation of Slaves from Africa by our Countrymen was in the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1562. England soon engaged deeply in the traffic: and in 1713 obtained a monopoly of the trade for supplying Spanish America with Slaves!* The other maritime nations of Europe also continued to extend it, and it is worthy of remark, that *most*, if not all, the

* See Robertson's History of America and Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

European States, with the exception of Portugal, in first recognizing by legal sanction this inhuman traffic, evinced a consciousness that they were trampling upon rights which the power they possessed gave them no title to invade. Their sense of its injustice proves that however habit may reconcile the human mind to an existing evil, even interest could not at first bribe it to contemplate so iniquitous a system without a lively perception of its real nature.

From that period the Trade continued to increase, and gradually arrived at an extent so dreadful, that, for a number of years, from sixty to one hundred thousand human beings are estimated to have been annually torn from their country and transplanted to the European Settlements in America.

In proceeding to investigate the nature of this Traffic, it will first become our business to enquire by what methods Slaves are obtained upon the African coast.

One of these is by a species of warfare, called *Tegria*, which, in the African language, means robbery, and consists of expeditions, without any previous notice or declaration, for the purpose of plunder. It is this sort of warfare which chiefly supplies the slave-market. These *Tegria* are of greater or less extent, according to circumstances. They are conducted by men heading parties of five hundred horsemen, down to the single individual armed with his bow and arrows, who, concealing himself amidst the bushes, waits till some young or unarmed person passes by; then, tiger-like, he springs upon his prey, rushes with it into the woods, and, when night falls, carries him off for a slave.

"Wars of this description," says Mr. Park, "are generally conducted with great secrecy. A few resolute individuals, headed by some person of enterprise and courage, march quietly through the woods, surprise in the night some unprotected village, and carry off the inhabitants and their effects, before their neighbours can come to their assistance. One morning, during my stay at Kamalia, we were all much

alarmed by a party of this kind. The king of Foolado's son, with five hundred horsemen, passed secretly through the woods, a little to the southward of Kamalia, and on the morning following plundered three towns belonging to Madigai, a powerful chief in Jalonkadoo.

" The success of this expedition encouraged the governor of Bangassi, a town in Foolado, to make a second inroad upon another part of the same country. Having assembled about two hundred of his people, he passed the river Kokoro in the night, and carried off a great number of prisoners. Several of the inhabitants who had escaped these attacks, were afterwards seized by the Mandingoes, as they wandered about in the woods, or concealed themselves in the glens and strong places of the mountains. These plundering expeditions always produce speedy retaliation; and when large parties cannot be collected for this purpose, a few friends will combine together and advance into the enemies' country, with a view to plunder and carry off the inhabitants. By these means hereditary quarrels are excited and perpetuated between nations, tribes, villages, and even single families, in consequence of the powerful temptation which the slave-market opens to the inhabitants to gratify their revenge with a momentary profit."

The *Slave Trade*, on the other hand, is conducted both up the rivers and upon the coast, by the whites themselves. The natives see their ships ; they know that they come loaded with articles adapted to their wants, and for the purpose of receiving men, women, and children in exchange. Here lies the temptation. Here are the means before their eyes of immediately gratifying their desires. No sooner do their vessels drop their anchor, than lust, avarice, enmity, revenge, and all the bad passions which agitate the human breast, are brought forth into action. The news of the arrival of a slave-ship, is like the publication of a reward for every species of crime. From that moment few are safe. A witness examined by the English Parliament, deposed that

the natives dared not stir out of their houses at these tim
without their arms. He asked one of them the reason w
he armed himself when there was no war. The man's answ
though silent, was expressive. He pointed his finger t
slave-ship which was then lying in the roads. And her
may be proper to remark, that the European traders n
ask any questions, whether the slaves they buy have
fairly or unfairly obtained. Some of them boldly and fr
ly acknowledged, before the same Parliament, that
bought all sorts of persons, without paying the least re
to the manner in which they had been made slaves, or
out considering the right of the seller to dispose of
"If the natives," said they, "will sell them, we wil
them."

But happy had it been for thousands of Africans,
stream of this trade had been left to take only its own
ral course, or if the European traders had not given
undue impulse by an application of the most criminal p
but alas! what must we not expect from persons wh
their own country to tear the innocent inhabitant
another into a dreadful slavery, for their own profit
likely that they would be over-scrupulous in the m
obtaining their object? The fact justifies the supp
as we shall soon show. It is well known that all ba
nations have an excessive love for spirituous liqu
that this love grows with indulgence, till it becomes a
cible habit. Here, then, we meet with acts of the m
minal interference on the part of the European
Well acquainted with this unhappy infirmity on the
the natives, they have lost no opportunity of profiti
They have given feasts to the chieftains, and when t
made them drunk, they have procured orders from
military incursions against their own subjects.
found also to have had recourse to other means equ
and fatal. They have sown the seeds of discord bet
chieftains of neighbouring states though living in a

each other; and where they have found disputes already existing between them, they have blown the embers into a flame, well knowing, that whoever were the conquerors, the war would terminate in their own favour. To enable the two parties to avenge each other, they have supplied both of them, upon trust, with arms and ammunition. They have then become calm spectators of the conflict, and as soon as it was over, they have repaid themselves by receiving the prisoners on both sides. But this is not all. When men become once familiarized with vice, who knows were they will stop? When the moral principle is gone, what is to check them? The European traders have had even the audacity to steal the natives themselves, when they have been able to do it without being discovered, or without the fear of retaliation. How many solitary canoes have been seized, both in the rivers and upon the coast, and the people on board of them taken out and carried off to the regions of slavery!*

The atrocious crimes and dreadful miseries which attend this wide-spreading system of desolation, will be further illustrated by the following extracts. The first forms part of a letter from a person residing at Senegal, to his correspondent at Paris, dated St. Louis, Senegal, August 20, 1818.

"If you knew all the infamous transactions," says he, "or rather, all the crimes which the thirst of gold produces in this country, you would scarcely credit such atrocities. White men, officers of the government, have been seen causing the blacks to be hunted even in the streets of St. Louis; that is to say, causing blacks, either slave or free, to be seized and carried off to the coast, where a ship was in waiting for them. In one instance, a black having been kidnapped in this manner, the next day his mother hastened to offer a sum of money for his liberation. The honest white took the money, and two days after both mother and son were shipped off for America. The latter, indignant at the out-

* Clarkson's Cries of Africa, p. 8, 9.

rage, stabbed himself, saying, 'Thou white man: devourer of blacks! I cannot revenge myself upon thee but by depriving thee of my person.'"—This transaction has occurred subsequently to the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Extract from Observations on the Slave Trade, by the Abbé Giudicelly, formerly resident at Senegal and Goree. Printed at Paris in 1820.

"The following, sir, are a few particulars of the massacre at the village of Diaman. The desire of obtaining information led me to the house of a native, a neighbour of mine, who had bought a woman of twenty years of age, that had been lately captured. I learned from her, that not being able to flee, in consequence of wounds on her feet, she had been made a slave by the Moors; that her husband had been out hunting for eight days, her eldest daughter had been rescued by her grandmother; that her father had died in the defence of the village, and that the Moors, at the time of capturing her, had stabbed her infant of five months old, which she had in her arms.

"This poor woman was much distressed at my inquiries, and it was with difficulty that I prevailed on her to accept of some little relief. I was obliged to tell her repeatedly, but perhaps without convincing her, that all white people were not like those who had treated her with so much barbarity; and that the greater part of them detested such horrid cruelty. 'Why, then,' she inquired with much earnestness, bursting into tears, 'why, then, do they not prevent it?'

"The destruction of the village of Diaman was the signal of the most dreadful atrocities, such as I should not have dared to suspect that even cannibals could be guilty of. On the Senegal, in the streets of the colony, as well as in the surrounding country, every black who was a stranger and unprotected, was arrested, sold, and carried on board a ship. How often has my ear been assailed by the cries of these poor wretches, when, in the night, they were struggling against their persecutors.

" In the beginning of the year 1818, King Damel encamped with about three thousand men, cavalry and infantry, and one thousand Moors, at the village of Gandiol, about three leagues from St. Louis. I went to see this barbarian, who for six months had been travelling to the different parts of his kingdom, carrying desolation, fire, and slaughter. To whom has he sold his subjects, whom he has enslaved by thousands? They have all been sent away to America, from the Senegal or Goree."

But if these things are so, how is it possible that the natives upon the coast can be industrious, or that they can advance in the scale of civilization. Mr. Bryan Edwards, the celebrated author of the history of Jamaica, though he set his face against the abolition of the Slave Trade, being himself a planter, had yet the candour to allow, that the greater part of the continent of Africa was " a field of war and desolation; a forest where the inhabitants were wolves to one another; a scene of fraud, rapine, oppression, and blood." This information he said he collected from his own negroes, who had been taken from it. What a melancholy picture does this account, which is in conformity with our preceding representations, afford us! And how much more disgusting is it rendered by the reflection, that all the atrocities which we discover in it, were occasioned by people who *call themselves Christians!!*

From sixty to one hundred thousand human beings are in this manner torn annually from their country, their families, and friends, transplanted to a distant country, and destined to toil as beasts of burden for the advantage of others, they and their posterity for ever! If the unhappy Africans are human beings; if they have passions similar to our own; if they feel and think like ourselves, they have a claim upon our deepest sympathy. When we hear the cries of an animal which suffers, we cannot refrain from pity; we find in our breast an impulse which tells us, that there is some analogy between its pains and our own; and can we

see such an accumulation of misery brought upon an innocent and unoffending people, without taking an interest in their sufferings, or without advocating their cause?

The European traders, conscious of their own guilt, conscious, indeed, that the voice of nature would cry out against their crimes, have prepared themselves long ago with arguments in their defence. Conscious that nothing else would justify their conduct, they have given out, and continue to give out, that the Africans are creatures of another species; that they have not the faculties and feelings of men; that they are upon a level with brutes; and add, by way of confirmation of their assertions, that though some centuries have passed since Africa was discovered, its inhabitants have made no progress in civilization like other people.

There will be no difficulty in refuting this argument, if we appeal to disinterested travellers, or to any travellers of reputation, who have visited the continent in question. And first, let us enquire whether the Africans have any moral character.

"The fierce disposition of the Feloops," says Mr. Park, "is counterbalanced by many good qualities. They display the utmost *gratitude and affection* towards their benefactors; and the *fidelity* with which they preserve whatever is entrusted to them, is *remarkable*."

"One of the first lessons in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is the practice of truth. The reader will probably recollect the case of the unhappy mother, whose son was murdered by the Moorish banditti at Funingkedy. Her only consolation in her uttermost distress, was the reflection, that the poor boy, in the course of his blameless life, *had never told a lie*."

"It is remarkable, that an African pardons more easily a beating, than an injury spoken against his parents.—'Wound me, but curse not my mother,' is a very common expression among them."

With respect to the sympathies of nature, or their affec-

tionate fondness for one another, let us hear what Mr. Park says also on this subject. " About two o'clock we came in sight of Jumba, the native town of the blacksmith (the negro who had travelled with Mr. Park), from whence he had been absent more than four years. When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, we dismounted and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, free from restraint, display their emotions in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amidst these transports, the blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her, and she stretched out her hand to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, arms, and face with great care, and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this interview I was fully convinced, that *whatever difference there is between the Negro and European in the conformation of the nose and the colour of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.*"

Take the following as instances of their hospitality, or of their tenderness for strangers in distress. " Towards evening," says Mr. Park, " as I was sitting down, chewing straws (this was in the kingdom of Kajaaga), an old female slave passing by with a basket upon her head, asked me if I had got my dinner? As I thought she only laughed at me, I gave her no answer; but my boy, who was sitting close by, answered for me, and told her that the king's people had robbed me of all my money. On hearing this, the good old woman, with a look of unaffected benevolence, immediately took the basket from her head, and showing me that it contained ground nuts, asked me if I could eat them. Being answered in the affirmative, she presented me with a few handfuls, and walked away before I had time to thank her for this seasonable supply. This trifling circumstance gave me

particular satisfaction. I reflected with pleasure on the conduct of this poor untutored slave, who, without examining into my character or circumstances, listened implicitly to the dictates of her own heart. Experience had taught her that hunger was painful, and her own distresses made her commiserate those of others."

On another occasion, when Mr. Park was near Sego, he speaks thus—" I was obliged to sit all day without victuals, in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood, that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up the tree and resting among the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman returning from the field stopped to observe me; and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said that she would procure me something to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rights of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without fear) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in

a sort of chorus. The tune was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were these: ' The winds roared and the rains fell: the poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree: he has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn. Chorus, Let us pity the white man; no mother has he, &c. &c.' Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed by such unexpected kindness, and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat, the only recompence I could make her."

Having said thus much on the *moral* character of the Africans, we shall now inquire if they have an *intellectual* one.

Mr. Park says, that " in every considerable town, there is a chief magistrate (among the Mandingoes), called the *alkaid*, whose office is hereditary, and whose business it is to preserve order, to levy duties on travellers, and to preside at all conferences in the exercise of local jurisdiction and the administration of justice. These courts are composed of the elders of the town, and are termed *palavers;* and their proceedings are conducted in the open air with sufficient solemnity. Both sides of the question are freely canvassed, witnesses are publicly examined, and the decisions which follow generally meet with the approbation of the surrounding audience."

In speaking of Sego, he says, " that it contained about thirty thousand inhabitants. The view of this extensive city, the numerous canoes upon the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence, which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa."

" As the arts of weaving, dying, sewing, &c. may be easily acquired, those who exercise them are not considered, in Africa, as following any particular profession, for almost every slave can weave, and every boy can sew. The only ar-

tists which are distinctly acknowledged as such by the negroes, and who value themselves on exercising peculiar trades, are the manufacturers of leather and iron. The first of these are called *karrankea*. They are to be found in almost every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition. They convert the hides of bullocks chiefly into sandals, and the skins of sheep and goats into quivers, and into sheaths for swords and knives, and into belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments. These skins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour.

" The manufacturers in iron are not so numerous as the karrankea, but they appear to have studied their business with equal diligence.

" Most of the African blacksmiths are acquainted also with the method of smelting gold. They are able also to draw the gold into wire, and to form it into a variety of ornaments, some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity."

It will not be necessary to make any other extracts from Mr. Park, or to appeal to the Book of Evidence printed by order of the English Parliament (which is in the most perfect unison with the statements of Mr. Park), to refute the wicked argument of the European traders, that the Africans are creatures of another species. We have shown that they are grateful to their benefactors; that they are faithful to their employers; that they are lovers of truth; that they possess all the amiable sympathies of our nature; that they are capable of conducting civil government; that they possess cities crowded with commerce and surrounded by cultivation; and that they exercise, not only the common or ordinary trades or callings, but even those where ingenuity and talents are required: but if the Africans possess, in common with the Europeans, both a moral and an intellectual character, who but the Slave-traders would dare to deny them the privilege of being men ?

But although the *Christian* nations of Europe have endeavoured to justify their conscious violation of all the acknowledged rights of humanity in the person of the negro, by pointing to his dark colour and different features, and denying his claim to the equal privileges of a common nature; " yet our Scriptures," as Mr. Watson justly and eloquently observes, " have not left us to determine the title of any tribe to the full honours of humanity by *accidental* circumstances. To *Man* has been given the law: ' Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;' and to be capable of loving God, is the infallible criterion of our peculiar nature. To determine, then, who are *men*, it is only necessary to determine who are capable of obeying that universal and exclusive law to *man*, the love of God. The labours of the missionaries have already settled this question. The Negro through all his shades; the Hottentot through all his vanities; the Indians of America, and the Natives of New Holland, have all, in our own days, been inspired with the love of God, through the Gospel, and by this test have been proved to be our brethren.

" But if it be somewhat too late to chase the negro out of the current of our common blood, and to sever his relation to Adam and to God, yet it is affirmed by many to this hour, that at least he is so degenerate a variety of the human species as to defy all cultivation of mind and all correction of morals.

" And yet, will it be believed," he continues, " that this contemned race can, as to intellect and genius, exhibit a brighter ancestry than our own? that they are the offshoots, wild and untamed it is true, but still the offshoots of a stem which was once proudly luxuriant in the fruits of learning and taste; whilst that from which the Goths, their calumniators, have sprung, remained hard, and knotted, and barren? For is Africa without her heraldry of science and of fame? The only probable account which can be given of the negro tribes is, that as Africa was peopled, through Egypt, by three

of the descendants of Ham, they are the offspring of Cush, Misraim, and Put. They found Egypt a morass, and converted it into the most fertile country in the world: they reared its pyramids, invented its hieroglyphics, gave letters to Greece and Rome, and, through them, to us.

"The everlasting architecture of Africa still exists, the wonder of the world, though in ruins. Her mighty kingdoms have yet their record in history. She has poured forth her heroes in the field, given bishops to the church, and martyrs to the fires; and for negro physiognomy, as though that should shut out the light of intellect, go to your national museum, contemplate the features of the colossal head of Memnon, and the statues of the divinities, on which the ancient Africans impressed their own forms; and there see, in close resemblance to the negro feature, the mould of those countenances which once beheld, as the creatures of their own immortal genius, the noblest and most stupendous monuments of human skill, and taste and grandeur. In the imperishable porphyry and granite, is the unfounded and pitiful slander publicly, and before all the world, refuted. There we see the negro under *cultivation;* if he now presents a different aspect, cultivation is wanting; that solves the whole case; for even now, where education has been expended upon the pure and undoubted negro, it has never been bestowed in vain. Modern times have witnessed in the persons of African negroes, Generals, Physicians, Philosophers, Linguists, Poets, Mathematicians, and Merchants, all eminent in their attainments, energetic in enterprise, and honourable in character; and even the Mission Schools in the West Indies exhibit a quickness of intellect, and a thirst for learning, to which the schools of this country do not always afford a parallel."*

It is true that we often see the negro character degraded, but when we make this a ground of reproach, we appear to

* See a Sermon by Richard Watson, p. 7, 8.—Butterworth, 1824.

forget that we ourselves have debased and brutalized that character by oppression, and in like manner when we point to the slow progress which the natives upon the shores of Africa have made in civilization, notwithstanding the advantage of their intercourse with Europe, as a proof of natural inferiority to the rest of mankind, we forget that we ourselves have long spread desolation and barbarism over those shores by a devastating series of the most atrocious crimes.

But it is a fact universally acknowledged, that the natives of the interior are far more civilized than those of the maritime parts of this continent.

The connexion of Africa with modern Europe has had a constant tendency to degrade and demoralize her; and instead of being a blessing, as it ought to have been, it has been a curse. If we trace the progress of improvement in the human race, we shall find that the borders of navigable rivers, and the shores of the sea, being the most frequented, have been the first in civilization, and that light and knowledge have afterwards spread from thence into the interior. Just the reverse has been the case in Africa. The most civilized people there are the inhabitants of the interior, while those of the shores are comparatively barbarous. Now what can have occasioned this striking difference, this appearance so contrary to the testimony of history and the experience of ages? Can we give a better reason for it than that the former have scarcely seen a white face, and that the latter have kept up for three centuries a constant connexion with the Europeans?*

It will be our next painful task to follow the unhappy Negroes to the ships—to those European ships which are to take them from every thing that is dear to them in life, and to convey them to a foreign land.

They who are made slaves in the vicinity of the rivers or

* See Park's Travels, Dupuis' Ashantee, Denham and Clapperton's Expedition to the Interior of Africa, &c

the sea-shore, have generally but a short way to travel. They are made to walk by land, with their arms pinioned, or are brought down, tied together, and lying on their backs, at the bottom of a boat.

Those who are made slaves in the interior have a long journey to perform, frequently of many moons. They are made to travel on foot, over rocks and burning sands, and through wildernesses and other inhospitable places. The black merchants, who conduct them to the Europeans, generally wait till they have collected a sufficient number to make it worth their while to undertake a journey. When the time arrives, they set off, themselves, slaves, asses, and attendants, and guards. Such a mixed group of men, animals, and merchandize travelling together, is called, in Africa, a *coffle*. These coffles are frequently increased by the junction of other coffles on the road. As Mr. Park travelled with these coffles, and perhaps is the only European who ever did so, it is to him, and to him only, that we must look for light and information on this melancholy subject.

Mr. Park informs us, that Karfa had collected at Kamalia as many slaves as would make a sufficient coffle. He tells us also that he himself conversed with them there. They are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one and the left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks with a strong rope of twisted thongs; and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks.

At length the morning of their departure arrived, and Mr. Park was to travel with them. The first thing that the slatees did, was to take the irons from their slaves, that is, from those who were assembled before Karfa's door. They then tied up the different bundles of merchandize, and appointed to every slave the load he was to carry. "When we moved forward," says Mr. Park, "we were followed for about half a mile from

Kamalia by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them. As many of the slaves had remained for years in irons, the sudden exertion of walking quick, with heavy loads upon their heads, occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs: and we had not proceeded above a mile, before it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more slowly, until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where some people were waiting to join the coffle."

On the third day after their departure we hear of them again. "During this day's travel," says Mr. Park, "a woman and a girl, belonging to a slatee of Bala, were so much fatigued, that they could not keep up with the coffle: they were severely whipped, and dragged along.

"In the course of the journey, one of the female slaves being excessively fatigued, refused to proceed any further, declaring that she would rather die than walk another step. As entreaties and threats were used in vain, the whip was at length applied; and after bearing patiently a few strokes, she started up, and walked with tolerable expedition for four or five hours longer; when she made an attempt to run away from the coffle, but was so very weak that she fell down in the grass. Though she was unable to rise, the whip was a second time applied, but without effect!

"As we had eat only one handful of meal," he continues, "since the preceding night, and travelled all day in a hot sun, many of the slaves who had loads upon their heads were very much fatigued; and some of them snapt their fingers, which, among the negroes, is a sure sign of desperation. The slatees immediately put them all in irons; and such of them as had evinced signs of great despondency, were kept apart from the rest, and had their hands tied.

"In this misery the female slave before referred to being unable to proceed, and every attempt to carry her forward

being found ineffectual, the general cry of the coffle was, '*kang tegi, kang tegi,* cut her throat, cut her throat,' which was soon afterwards done.

"We continued our route," he goes on to say, "with great expedition, through the woods, until noon, when one of the Serawoolli slaves dropt the load from his head, for which he was smartly whipped. The load was replaced, but he had not proceeded above a mile, before he let it fall a second time, for which he received the same punishment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we stopt to breathe a little by a pool of water, the day being remarkably hot. The poor slave was now so completely exhausted, that his master was obliged to release him from the rope, for he lay motionless on the ground. A Serawoolli, therefore, undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town (Baniserile) during the cool of the night. In the mean while we continued our route, and, after a very hard day's travel, arrived there ourselves in the evening. About eight o'clock the Serawoolli joined us. He told us the slave was dead: the general opinion, however, was, that he had killed him, or left him to perish on the road."

On the 30th of May, Mr. Park furnishes us with another affecting anecdote, which he gives us in the following words: "We reached Jalacotta. Here one of the slaves belonging to the coffle, who had travelled with difficulty for the last three days, was found unable to proceed any further. His master (a singing man) proposed, therefore, to exchange him for a young girl belonging to one of the townspeople. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffle ready to depart; when, coming with some other young women to see the coffle set out, her master took her by the hand, and delivered her to the singing man. Never was a face of serenity more suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress. The terror

she manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting.

" I was now approaching," he continues, " the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected, in another day, to meet with countrymen and friends: I could not part, for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow travellers, doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of captivity and slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred English miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them; and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give."

We have now followed the unhappy Africans, reduced to a state of slavery, from the interior of their own country to the place of their embarkation. Here a new scene commences. The black merchants, who drive them thither, sell them to the Europeans. From this period we are to follow them again. We are now to follow them across the ocean, and to see what their situation is under their new masters.

The different witnesses examined by the English Parliament all agree, that when they are put on board the vessels, they appear melancholy and dejected, and that they continue so for some time, and some of them during the whole voyage; and that this dejection arises from the keenness of their feelings, on account of the separation from their country, their families, and their friends.

When they are brought on board, the men are chained together in pairs, the right leg of one being fastened to the left

leg of another; and in this situation, that is, two and two together, they are made to go below, to the place or prison allotted to them in the hold of the vessel. The women and children are conveyed to other parts, but they are not ironed like the men.

When the weather is fair, they are made to leave their prisons, to take the advantage of fresh air and to take their meals. The men are distributed for this purpose in long rows of two and two, from head to stern, on each side of the deck; but, to prevent them rising upon the crew, or jumping overboard, a long chain is passed through the irons of each pair of slaves, and is locked at both the ends of it to the deck.

When the vessel is full, their situation is wretched. In the best-regulated ships, a full-grown man has no more space allowed him to lie upon than sixteen English inches in breadth, which gives him about as much room as a man has in his coffin, and about two feet eight inches in height. But there are very few vessels in which even this limited allowance is afforded. In many of them, the slaves are obliged to lie upon their sides, and none of them can sit upright. Besides this, they are naked; and they have nothing to lie upon but the bare boards: on this account they suffer often very severely from the motion of the ship, which occasions different parts of their bodies to be bruised, and which causes their irons to excoriate their legs.

But their situation is the most deplorable when it blows a heavy gale, and when the hatches or gratings are obliged to be fastened down. Their sufferings are at this time such as no language can describe. They are often heard, on such occasions, to cry out in their own language, "We are dying, we are dying." The steam which comes at this time from their bodies, and which ascends through the little holes of the gratings, has been compared by those who have witnessed it, to that which issues from a furnace. Many of them, having fainted from heat, stench, and corrupted air, have been

brought out of the hold upon the deck in a dying state; while others have been brought up quite dead from suffocation, who were in perfect health but a few hours before.

Horrible as this account may appear, we assert, in the most solemn manner, that we have omitted to mention many circumstances* which would render it still more afflicting; and that we have been cautious in what we have said to keep ourselves within the bounds of truth.

Being deprived, then, generally speaking, of the power of a successful resistance, the only hope left them of escaping from their miseries is in death; that is, of destroying themselves, if any opportunity should offer, and which they seize with an avidity almost beyond belief. The most common way to which they look is that of being able to throw themselves into the sea. But here also every avenue of escape by such means is guarded. The men are not only locked to the deck, but large nettings are fastened on both sides of the ship, which reach from the deck up to a certain height in the rigging. But these precautions do not always prove a security. Many and many are the instances in which they destroy themselves in this manner.

But if they are prevented from accomplishing their object in the way now mentioned, they do not abandon the hope of being able to attain it in some other. The deepest foresight on the part of their oppressors cannot always prevent the means. When ropes have been left carelessly about the ship, though not in improper places, several of them, but mostly women, have been found suspended to these at different times; and when small instruments of iron, or even broken pieces of iron, have been left in the same manner, others have been discovered to have made mortal wounds upon their own bodies; others who have not been able to meet with such opportunities, have come to the resolution of refusing all sustenance, in or-

* See the evidence before the English Parliament, in the cases where the slaves have been afflicted with contagious disorders, particularly the flux, when, says one of the witnesses, "the floor of their prison was covered with blood and mucus, like a slaughter-house."

der to starve themselves to death; and though the *speculum oris*, an instrument used in the disorder called the lock jaw, has been applied to force open their mouths on such occasions, they have persisted in their resolution till the tenth or eleventh day, at which time death has usually put a period to their sufferings.* With respect to others, but particularly females, who have been of more delicate temperature both of body and mind, or who have had a more lively sense of their situation, but less resolution, many are the instances where a continually increasing melancholy has ended in madness, and where they have continued in that pitiable state for the short remainder of their lives.

Such are the sufferings which the Slave Trade produces to its unhappy victims, but the depravity which it engenders in those who carry it on, is, if possible, a still more revolting feature in its character. The two following occurrences are both of recent date, and exhibit with a power beyond that of any general description, the tremendous accumulation of guilt and misery which attends the progress of the traffic.

The Rodeur, French vessel, of 200 tons burthen, left Havre on the 24th of January, 1819, and anchored in Bonny river, on the coast of Africa, in the March following, where she took in, contrary to the French law of the abolition of the slave trade, a cargo of slaves. On the 6th of April she sailed with them for Guadaloupe. Soon after her departure from this river, some of the slaves, who had been brought upon deck to take the air, took the opportunity of throwing themselves into the sea; in consequence of which, the captain of the Rodeur made a terrible example, by shooting some of them and by hanging others. This, however, did not answer the end proposed; and it was found, therefore, necessary to keep all of them confined below. In a short time a dreadful ophthalmia was discovered among them, which soon communicated to the crew, and which made such a rapid and general progress among the latter, that there was only one of

* Cries of Africa, p. 27, 28.

them who could see to steer the vessel. At this moment a large ship approached the Rodeur, which appeared to be totally at the mercy of the wind and waves. The crew of this vessel, hearing the voices of the crew of the Rodeur, cried out most vehemently for help. They told the melancholy tale, as they passed along, that their ship was a Spanish slave ship, called the S. Leon, and that a contagion had seized the eyes of all on board, so that there was not one individual, either sailor or slave, who could see. But alas! this pitiable narrative was in vain, for no help could be given! The S. Leon passed on, and was never more heard of. At length, by the skill and perseverance of the only man who preserved his sight on board the Rodeur, and by a favourable concurrence of circumstances, the ship reached Guadaloupe on the 21st of June. By this time thirty-nine of the slaves had become totally blind, twelve had lost one eye, and fourteen were affected with blemishes more or less considerable. Out of the crew, consisting of twenty-two, twelve had lost their sight, amongst whom was the surgeon; five had become blind of one eye, among whom was the captain; and four were partially injured. Now, what will the reader think was the first thing which the captain and crew of the Rodeur did, when they found that they were going to enter into a safe port? Undoubtedly, he will think that they were employed in returning thanks to God for this their miraculous deliverance. But he will be mistaken if he supposes so. Without gratitude to God, without mercy to others, without the feelings of men, the first act which they performed was to throw overboard all the poor slaves who were incurably blind, upon the plea, first, that if they carried them on shore no one would buy them, and consequently that they should have them to maintain without any return; and secondly, that by feigning an act of necessity, they might recover their value from the underwriters.

The next year, namely, 1820, furnishes us with another occurrence, equally atrocious in its nature, though of a dif-

ferent cast. Sir George Collier was at that time the commodore of the English squadron cruising in the African seas, to prevent the violation of the abolition law, as sanctioned by the English Parliament, and by treaties between England and other foreign governments. He himself was on board the Tartar frigate. In the month of March, he gave chase to a vessel which he suspected to be a slave ship. In the course of the chase, several casks were observed to be floating in the sea, which the Tartar passed, but no person could be spared at that moment to go to examine them, In a few hours afterwards, the crew of the frigate boarded the vessel which they had been pursuing, and she proved to be La Jeune Estelle, French vessel, the captain of which was named Olympe Sanguines. This man, on being questioned, denied that he had any slaves on board. He admitted, however, that he had had some in his possession a little time before, but that a Spanish pirate had seized them and taken them away. There was something, however, so disingenuous in his countenance, that the chief officer of the Tartar, who had boarded his vessel, ordered a search to be made in the hold. One of the English sailors, on striking a cask, heard a faint voice issue from it, as of some creature expiring. The cask was immediately opened, when two slave girls, about twelve or fourteen years of age, were found packed up in it. They were afterwards carried on board the Tartar, and thus rescued from a most painful death. When they arrived there, they were recognized by a person who had seen them in their own country. This person was then a prisoner on board the Tartar, having been taken by the commodore out of another slave ship. It appeared from his evidence, that one Captain Richards, commanding an American slave ship, had died at a village on the coast, called Trade-town, and that he had left behind him fourteen slaves, of which these two poor girls had formed a part; and that after his death, Captain Olympe Sanguines had landed his crew, armed with swords and pistols, and carried off these fourteen slaves on board La Jeune Estelle. Sir

George Collier, upon receiving this information, thought it right to board the vessel again, in order to find the remaining twelve; but, after a strict search, they were nowhere to be found. It then struck him and his officers (and a most painful consideration it was), that Captain Sanguines, in order to prevent his vessel from being seized as a slave ship, had packed up the twelve slaves just mentioned, in those casks which they had seen floating in the sea, one after another, soon after the commencement of the chase. But, alas! it was now too late to ascertain the truth of this conjecture, for the chase had then led them many leagues to windward of these casks; and there was no chance whatever that any of the slaves who might be enclosed in them would be found alive.*

Such are the melancholy scenes which are passing in the different slave ships, from the time of their leaving the coast of Africa, to the time of their arrival in the European colonies. During this interval, it is but reasonable to suppose, that a considerable mortality takes place among the slaves. Insurrections, suicides,† and diseases (the latter of which arise from grief of mind), sudden transitions from heat to cold, filth, stench, a putrid atmosphere, and cruel treatment, contribute to thin their numbers. It appears from the evidence of respectable witnesses examined by the English Parliament, that out of 7904 slaves, with whom they themselves sailed at different times, 2053 perished; that is, a fourth part of them perished, though they were all young and healthy when they were brought on board, in the short space of from six to eight weeks!! What a murderous devastation of the human race!! What an impious rebellion against the will of Providence, in the creation of the world!!! If the rest of mankind were to perish in this proportion, all the inhabitants on the earth would be extinct in a few years!!!

* See Supplement to the Report of the African Institution for the year 1821.

† This violation of the laws of the Creator, on the part of these unhappy people, is a new crime, which falls upon the heads of the European slave-traders.

These instances are sufficient: they shew, without having recourse to others, the corruptive nature of this traffic upon the human heart. The effects which it produces are regular and certain. They are the same in whatever age or by whatever people it may be carried on. They are irresistible; so that neither public opinion, nor the improvement of one age above another, nor the superior refinement of any particular people, can withstand their influence. They shew, therefore (what it is peculiarly desirable to know), that there is no remedy for the evils complained of, but the total Abolition of the Trade. No human regulation can do them away, because no human regulation can change the human heart.

In the year 1807, Great Britain and the United States of America passed laws entirely prohibiting the trade in all its branches, to their respective subjects; and in 1810, Portugal consented to prescribe local limits to her share of it, in that part of the African Continent which lies to the north of the Equator.

These important measures, being aided at that time by the right of visitation, which the existing state of war conferred on the belligerent nations, produced a very considerable effect. A partial cessation of the Slave Trade took place along a large portion of the African coast; and on that part of it which extends from Senegal to the Gold Coast, few traces of this odious traffic remained.

This interval of local rest from the ravages of the Slave Trade, short as it unhappily was, served abundantly to confirm the anticipation of wise and good men. The western shores of northern Africa were already beginning to exhibit a new and more cheering aspect. The pursuits of peaceful industry, and the arts of civilized life, joined to the diffusion of religious knowledge, were, slowly indeed, but progressively, repairing the desolating and barbarizing mischiefs of the Slave Trade—when the scene was suddenly changed.

No sooner was peace proclaimed, than the traders in human blood hastened from various quarters to the African

shores, and, with a cupidity sharpened by past restraint, renewed their former crimes.

Among the rest, the slave merchants of France, who had been excluded for upwards of twenty years, from any direct participation in this murderous traffic, now resumed it; and to this very hour they continue openly to carry it on, notwithstanding the solemn renunciation of it by their own government in 1815, and the prohibitory French laws which have since been passed to restrain them.

But let it not be supposed that it has been by Frenchmen alone that this dreadful scourge has been inflicted upon Africa. Traders of other nations, assuming the flag which best suited their nefarious purposes, have crowded the shores of Africa, and filled their ships with the wretched victims of the crimes which they excited. Not only have the Portuguese and Spaniards been extensively engaged in these enterprizes, but citizens of the United States, of Holland, and of Great Britain also, disguising themselves under the flag of some other country, have deeply participated in this work of destruction. It would admit of proof, that probably at no period of the existence of this opprobrious traffic, has Africa suffered more intensely from its ravages, than during a part of the time which has elapsed since the re-establishment of the peace of the civilized world. The bad men of all other countries appear to have combined to blast the improvement and happiness of Africa, and to have joined in a malignant conspiracy to frustrate all the merciful purposes of their sovereigns towards that ill-fated quarter of the globe.*

In support of these assertions, we subjoin the following authentic evidence; relating wholly to transactions of a very recent date:—

Extract of a Letter from Guadaloupe.

"We enclose a note, which proves the continuation of the cruelties towards the unhappy Africans. I answer for its

* See a Pamphlet entitled "Statements Illustrative of the Slave Trade," &c.

authenticity. There are strong cruisers stationed to seize the slavers; but they laugh at them, and always reach the port; one might almost say that they protect them.

"The schooner Louisa, Captain Arnaud, arrived at L'Anse à la barque, in the quarter of St. Anne, Guadaloupe, in the early part of the month of April, 1824, with a cargo of 200 negroes. The number first embarked was 275. As the vessel could not transport so large a number, the others were thrown alive into the sea by the captain. Nature shudders at such atrocities."

Extract of a Letter from Captain Forbes, of his Majesty's sloop Thracian, to Vice-Admiral Sir L. W. Halsted, K.C.B. Commander in Chief, dated Port-Royal Harbour, October 22, 1824.

"I think it necessary likewise to inform you, sir, that Mr. Kilbee, the British Commissary Judge, assured me that 37 vessels had cleared out this year from the Havannah, evidently intended, by their appearance, for the Slave Trade; indeed, I had it from good information, that seven sailed in one day for that destination while I was there, and the Columbian privateers had captured three lately with slaves actually on board."

Extract from the Sierra Leone Advertiser.

"Freetown, Saturday, November 20, 1824.

"We regret never having before inspected the numerous slave ships which have arrived here, in order to ascertain whether they answered the description set forth in their papers. The following particulars relative to three vessels taken by our squadron for being engaged in this horrible commerce, and lately brought into our harbour for adjudication in the British and Portuguese Court of Mixed Commission, will, we feel assured, astonish even our readers, who have unhappily had too many opportunities of witnessing the misery which

this traffic imposes upon its defenceless and unfortunate victims.

" The ' *Diana.*'—This vessel is stated, in the Royal Passport, to be 120 tons burthen; and permitted, by this passport, in accordance with the Alvara of his Most Faithful Majesty, under date of the 24th of November, 1813, to carry 300 slaves, being at the rate of five to every two tons. On being inspected, she is found to admeasure only 66 tons, 52-94 fourths English measurement, and therefore *authorised* to take at the rate of five to each ton. The surface of the men's slave-room is only 480 feet, and 2 feet 7 inches in height; and that of the women, 103 feet surface, and 3 feet 11 inches high; yet on board this vessel there were actually shipped at Badagry, for the passage to the Brazils, 156 human victims, besides her crew, 18 in number.

" The ' *Two Brazilian Friends.*'—This vessel is also stated, by a like document, to be 146 tons, and being similarly licenced, might carry 365 slaves. On inspection, she is found to be only 95 tons, 59-94 fourths, and consequently in like manner authorized to carry at the rate of four to each ton. The surface of the platform for the men is 615 feet, and the height 2 feet 6 inches; that of the women 148 feet 8 inches surface, and 3 feet 10 inches in height. On board this vessel there were actually shipped at Badagry, for passage to the Brazils, 260 unfortunate Africans, besides her crew, 18 in number.

" The ' *Avizo.*'—This vessel is, by a similar document, asserted to be 231 tons, and by her licence might carry 580 slaves. On examining her, it is ascertained that she is only 165 tons, 28-94 fourths, and therefore might carry at the rate of more than 5 to a ton. The surface of the men's room is 861 feet, height of ditto, 3 feet 2 inches; that of the women is 215 feet surface, and the same height as the men's. 465 wretched beings were stowed on board this vessel at the same port, for passage to the Brazils, besides her crew, 33 in number.

" We have here 328 tons of shipping, licenced t
1245, and actually conveying from the coast 881 slaves
(in these three vessels) at the rate of 11 to every 4 ton
sides the men navigating them, and the water and pro
necessary for so great a number of people for the voya
gether with their boats and ships' stores. As the m
women thus embarked were 712 in number, and suppos
children, both boys and girls, to be either always k
deck, or confined to the long boat (as is the practice
only a little more than 3¼ square feet was allowed f
adult African thus shipped—a space which, we shou
pose, no human being could long exist in; and, indee
number of deaths, and the emaciated state of the su
too fully prove this to be the case. From the crowde
of these vessels, we do not hesitate to say, that it wo
impossible to cram the number on board which the aut
of the Brazils (by sanctioning these false description
vessels) give the masters permission to take; it is, th
to a certain extent useless, although proving to the wo
this government, not content with allowing their sub
carry on the odious traffic, sanction such means of d
as aggravate the misery of the unfortunate victims thu
away from their families and country. We shall make
ther remarks on this painful subject, satisfied that suc
deception as is clearly shown to be sanctioned by this
who is thus adding further horrors to the already de
slave trade, will not be overlooked by our governme
are no doubt in possession of the facts from our galla
modore and his officers. Further particulars relativ
property and proceedings of these vessels will be give
next.

" The French Slave Trade has lately most consi
increased in the rivers Bonny and Old Calabar. Seve
vessels have arrived, and many laden with full cargoe
man victims have left under the white flag, and ma
Frenchmen, although the capital embarked is ostensib

nish. In order that our readers may judge of the barbarity and want of feeling evinced by these subjects of an enlightened nation, which publicly disavows such horrible and infamous conduct, we desire to make known that *Le Louis*, commanded by one Oiseau, on completing her cargo of slaves in the Old Calabar, a few weeks since, without the slightest spark of humanity in him, thrust the whole of these unfortunate beings between decks (a height of only three feet) and closed the hatches for the night. When morning made its appearance, fifty of the poor sufferers had paid the debt of nature, owing to the confined, diseased, and putrid atmosphere they were condemned to respire! The wretch coolly ordered the bodies of these miserable victims of his total want of human feeling, to be thrown into the river, and immediately proceeded on shore to complete his execrable cargo by fresh purchases of his fellow-creatures. To detail all the information we have received relative to the enormities committed by these dealers in human flesh, who feel they are protected by the nation they claim and the flag they hoist, would horrify any but slave-dealers, who seem naturally callous to every feeling which ennobles mankind; suffice it to say, they are heart-rending, and would disgrace the most unenlightened savage."

On the eastern coast of Africa the ravages of the Slave Trade are also very great, and from the greater length of the voyage, a still greater sacrifice of human life takes place in transporting the slaves to America.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Owen to J. W. Croker, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's ship Leven, Mozambique, 9th of October, 1823.

"It is my duty to state, for the information of my Lords of the Admiralty, that on the eastern coast of Africa the Slave Trade has recently received a new impulse for the supply of Brazil. It would appear, that this diabolical commerce is

the only one capable of inspiring its miserable remains of Portuguese population with energy and activity. There are in this port seven vessels preparing their cargoes for Rio de Janeiro; one of them of about six hundred tons, to carry 1,200 slaves. The export of slaves from this port cannot be less than 15,000 annually.

" At Quilliman, 16 vessels have taken cargoes within the last year, amounting to 10,000; and the new order of things brought about by the revolutions in Portugal and Brazils, has opened the ports of Quilliman and Inhamban to a direct communication with the latter, which enables them to carry on this abominable traffic more advantageously and to greater extent.

" From Inhamban, however, the trade in slaves is very limited, compared with that of Mozambique and Quilliman, the neighbouring tribes being very averse to it; nevertheless wars are excited solely to make slaves to pay for merchandize. The same also occurs at English River to a still smaller extent, yet sufficiently so to keep the neighbouring tribes in a ferment and continual state of warfare. The price of a slave at Quilliman, Inhamban, and Delagoa, rarely exceeds two or three Spanish dollars to the Portuguese, who get for them perhaps twenty or thirty from the vessels; much of their gain is necessarily expended for their intermediate subsistence, which, however, is scarcely enough to hang soul and body together; and the ships which use this traffic consider they make an excellent voyage if they *save* ONE-THIRD *of the number embarked* to sell at Rio for 150 or 200 Spanish dollars each: some vessels are so fortunate as to save *one half* of their cargo alive, and their gains become a strong motive to more extensive speculations!!"

Did the limits of the present publication admit, it would be easy to confirm the foregoing statements by numerous examples of a similar nature, drawn entirely from official documents, and all tending to prove that the Slave Trade is not only as atrociously and as extensively carried on as ever, but

that it is annually on the increase. The returns of the number of Slaves brought during two successive years into one port of South America alone, Rio de Janeiro, are an additional confirmation of this fact, and form, at the same time, conclusive evidence of the present extent of the traffic.

In 1821 there were imported..... 21,199
1822 24,934

Being an increase of 3,735 in one year in the importations of a single port in Brazil.*

But the following documents present us with a still more comprehensive view of the state of the Trade at a recent period, and will, it is believed, render any further evidence unnecessary.

In a Report to the Congress of the United States of North America, dated February 9, 1821, it is said—"The extension of the trade for the last twenty-five or thirty years must, in degree, be conjectural, but the best information that can be obtained on the subject, furnishes good foundation to believe, that during that period the number of slaves withdrawn from western Africa alone, amounts to upwards of one million and a half. The annual average would be a mean somewhere between 50 and 80,000."

Captain Leeke, commander of the sloop Myrmidon, in a letter dated Sierra Leone, November 7, 1821, addressed to Commodore Sir Robert Mends, says—"From the river Calabar there had sailed, within the last eighteen months, 177 vessels with full cargoes; more than the half of them were under the French flag, the others, Spaniards and Portugueze. These accounts have been given me, not only from the kings and chiefs of the rivers, but from those who were actual eye-witnesses of the shipments and sailing of the unfortunate negroes. Thus you will perceive that this horrid traffic has been carried on to an extent that almost staggers belief. The vessels [126] reported in my last to have left the river Bonny

* See Mrs. Graham's Brazil, p. 228, 229.

between the months of July and November, 1820, with 86 that have already sailed this year, added to these, with 35 from the Bimbia and Cameroons, will make their number 424, many of them carrying from 500 to 1000 slaves: and by allowing only the very moderate average of 250 to each vessel, will make 106,000 slaves exported from four of the northernmost rivers in the Bight of Biafra, in the short space of eighteen months, and by far the largest half in vessels bearing the French flag."

Who can form even a faint idea of the accumulated wretchedness that must have been the lot of those unhappy beings who were in this unrighteous manner subjected to ignominy, distress, and many of them to death? In addition to this, deceit, lying, perjury, and robbery, mark the conduct of those engaged in the trade: it deadens all the kind and benevolent dispositions of man, and renders him hard-hearted, brutal, and savage. When are these scenes of cruelty to terminate? How long is man to traffic in human blood, and thus to disgrace his species?*

We have now sketched the history of this persecuted race during the period in which it has been the victim of the barbarous cupidity of the civilized world, and have given some idea of the sum of affliction and crime which Africa has received from the enlightened nations of the earth. We appeal to all who can justly estimate the disadvantage of seeing negro capacity and negro morality only under a system which brutalizes even barbarians—a system which silences the kindliest and gentlest impulses of the human heart, and invests with demoniac strength every propensity to evil,—whether, even from the scanty materials thus afforded, incontrovertible evidence does not remain of a nature as bountifully endowed as our own. Slavery has carried on its fiend-like work by causing vices to coalesce which have no natural affinity, by bringing into unnatural combination the evils of

* See Statement, &c.

two distinct stages of society, and all that it has borne to Africa of the boasted acquirements of civilized life, has been a masterly skill in the contrivance, and an unhesitating daring in the commission of crime, which the mind of a savage was too simple to devise and his heart too gentle to execute. Yet even from a desert so sterile in all that is good, so distinguished by the darkest features of sin and misery, enough may be collected to prove the existence of a soul capable of yielding rich produce, had it been cultivated by benevolent skill instead of being devastated by senseless barbarity.

We now follow the afflicted Negro to the Land of his Oppression, and commence a melancholy era in his history, on beholding him within the realms of Slavery, with the chain of bondage rivetted upon him.

CONDITION OF THE NEGRO SLAVES IN THE WEST INDIES AND AMERICA.

In the Colonies of Great Britain there are at this moment upwards of 800,000 human beings in a state of degrading personal slavery.

These unhappy persons, whether young or old, male or female, are the absolute property of their master, who may sell or transfer them at his pleasure, and who may also regulate according to his discretion (within certain limits) the measure of their labour, their food, and their punishment.

Many of the slaves are (and all may be) branded like cattle, by means of a hot iron, on the shoulder or other conspicuous part of the body, with the initials of their master's name; and thus bear about them, in indelible characters, the proof of their debased and servile state.

The slaves, whether male or female, are driven to labour by the impulse of the cart-whip, for the sole benefit of their owners, from whom they receive no wages; and this labour

is continued (with certain intermissions for breakfast and dinner) from morning to night throughout the year.

In the season of crop (which lasts for four or five months of the year) their labour is protracted not only throughout the day, as at other times, but during half the night, or the whole of every alternate night.

Besides being generally made to work under the lash, without wages, the slaves are further obliged to labour for their own maintenance on that day which ought to be devoted to repose and religious instruction. And as that day is also their only market-day, it follows, that "Sunday shines no Sabbath-day to them," but is of necessity a day of worldly occupation and much bodily exertion.

The Colonial Laws arm the master, or any one to whom he may delegate his authority, with a power to punish his slaves to a certain extent, without the intervention of the magistrate, and without any responsibility for the use of this tremendous discretion; and to that extent he may punish them for any offence, or for no offence. These discretionary punishments are usually inflicted on the naked body with the cart-whip, an instrument of dreadful severity, which cruelly lacerates the flesh of the sufferer. Even the unhappy females are equally liable with the men to have their persons thus shamelessly exposed and barbarously tortured at the caprice of their master or overseer.

The slaves being regarded in the eye of the law as mere chattels, they are liable to be seized in execution for their master's debts, and, without any regard to the family ties which may be broken by this oppressive and merciless process, to be sold by auction to the highest bidder, who may remove them to a distant part of the same colony, or even exile them to another colony.

Marriage, that blessing of civilized and even of savage life, is protected in the case of the slaves by no legal sanction. It cannot be said to exist among them. Those, therefore, who live together as man and wife, are liable to be separated

by the caprice of their master, or by sale for the satisfaction of his creditors.

The slaves in general have little or no access to the means of Christian instruction.

The effect of the want of such instruction, as well as of the absence of any marriage tie, is, that the most unrestrained licentiousness (exhibited in a degrading, disgusting, and depopulating promiscuous intercourse) prevails almost universally among the slaves; and is encouraged no less universally by the example of their superiors, the whites.

The evidence of slaves is not admitted by the Colonial Courts, in any civil or criminal case affecting a person of free condition. If a white man, therefore, perpetrates the most atrocious acts of barbarity in the presence of slaves only, the injured party is left without any means of legal redress.

In none of the Colonies of Great Britain have those legal facilities been afforded to the slave to purchase his own freedom, which have produced such extensively beneficial effects in the colonial possessions of Spain and Portugal; where the slaves have been manumitted in large numbers, not only without injury, but with benefit to the master, and with decided advantage to the public peace and safety. On the contrary, in many of our colonies even the voluntary manumission of slaves by their masters has been obstructed, and in some rendered nearly impossible, by large fines.

It is an universal principle of Colonial Law, that all black or coloured persons are presumed and taken to be slaves, unless they can legally prove the contrary. The liberty, therefore, even of free persons, is thus often greatly endangered, and sometimes lost. They are liable to be apprehended as runaway slaves; and they are further liable, as such, to be sold into endless bondage, if they fail to do that which, though free, nay, though born perhaps in Great Britain itself, they may be unable to do—namely, to establish the fact of their freedom by such evidence as the colonial laws require.

Let it be remembered also, that many thousand infants are annually born within the British dominions to no inheritance but that of the hapless, hopeless servitude which has been described; and the general oppressiveness of which might be inferred from this striking and most opprobrious fact alone, that while in the United States of America the slaves increase rapidly—so rapidly as to double their number in twenty years—there is, even now, in the British colonies, no increase, but on the contrary a diminution of their numbers.*

In order to illustrate the above statements, we subjoin a few extracts from a recent work, entitled "The West Indies as they Are," by the Rev. Richard Bickell, late Naval Chaplain at Port Royal, &c.

"The time of labour for the slaves, generally, is from sunrising to sunsetting, viz. from five o'clock to seven one half the year, and from six to six, or thereabout, the other half. They are generally summoned from their slumbers by the cracking of the driver's whip, about half an hour before daylight; which whip, as it is pretty long and heavy, makes the valleys resound and the welkin ring with its alarming sounds, and woe be to the hapless slave who does not lend a willing ear and speedy footsteps to its repeated calls. If he be absent at roll-call, the judge, juror, and executioner, all stand by him in the shape of an inexorable driver, and, without any defence or leave of appeal, he is subjected to the lash. Nor will a trifling excuse serve the black female: she makes the best of her way to take her place, her unequal share of the task, by the strong-armed and stout-made man, in the well dressed-up rank of the gang. Should she be too late, her sex and slender form, or gentle nature, will not avail; but, as if devoid of feeling, she is laid down by force, and punished with stripes on those parts which in women for

* See Brief View, &c.

decency's sake, ought never to be exposed. Surely nature is outraged at such devilish indelicacies.

" Out of this time is allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner, but many overseers have the first shell blown for dinner at half past twelve o'clock, and the second at two to go to the field again, as they are not very particular when they are busy in crop, or wish to have a certain quantity of work done. Independent of this also, in crop-time, the gangs are divided, and one half must work at night whilst the other half sleeps; though on some estates, where they have great strength, as they term it (viz. where the negroes are more numerous than strict necessity requires for the quantity of land in cultivation), the whole number is divided into three parts; so that on most sugar estates the slaves work one half the year three nights in the week, independent of the days, and on the others two nights a week. With respect to the hardness of the labour, it is not greater than (perhaps not so great as) our husbandmen are accustomed to in England; nor do I think it possible for any men to work so hard in a tropical climate as they could in a cold one; but the length of time that they are employed, viz. eleven or twelve hours, besides the night-work, is more than was intended for man to bear, and must hasten debility and old age. For the poor women it is a great deal too much, as their frail frames cannot stand it many years."—Pp. 47—50.

" The constant use of the whip is also a principal cause of one of the greatest hardships in West Indian slavery, for seeing that work is their only portion, they are, as I before observed, inclined to be indolent, and a driver is continually after them in the field, to flog them with his heavy whip, if they do not work so hard as he thinks they ought. It is certainly a most degrading sight to see one fellow-creature following twenty, thirty, or forty others, and every now and then lashing them as he would a team of horses or mules; but this is not all, for if any one offends more than ordinarily, master driver, who has almost unlimited power, takes him or

her from the ranks, and, having two or three strong negroes to hold the culprit down, lays on twenty or thirty lashes with all his might. Thirty-nine is the number specified by law, beyond which even a white man cannot legally go in one day; but I have seen a black driver lay on most unmercifully upwards of forty at one time, whilst his fellow-slave was crying out for mercy so that he could be heard a quarter of a mile from the spot."—Pp. 12, 13.

Mr. Cooper observes that he never saw a negro who did not exhibit marks of violence, that is to say, traces of the whip, in his body.

" Another of the evils of slavery is, that the slaves are so degraded and depressed in the eye of the law as not to be considered persons, but mere animals or chattels; so that they can be sold, not only at the will and pleasure of their masters or owners, to any other person, at any part of the island, but can be seized and sold for debt, by a writ of execution, and exposed for sale at a public auction to the best bidder. Many a bitter cry is heard when the Marshal's deputies (dogs as they are emphatically called) are sent to hunt down and seize the victim or victims, and drive or drag them away to the workhouse, or gaol, till the day of sale arrives, which is to deprive them of their little homes, the gardens they have cultivated, the acquaintances they have made, and all the little comforts which make even slavery, in some measure, tolerable. This hardship is much increased when slaves are married, or have families, as the woman may be separated from her husband, or parents from their children; for here the tenderest ties of nature are broken in an instant, and the wife's, or mother's, or children's cries would not be in the least attended to, nor heeded, any more than the moans of so many [brute] animals."—Pp. 16, 17.

The truth of these statements is amply confirmed by the advertisements for the sale of negroes in every Colonial Gazette. We extract two or three, among many others, from the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of June 15, 1823.

April 26, 1823. " For sale, fifteen valuable young Negroes, together or *singly*, to suit purchasers."

May 10, 1823. " Notice is hereby given, that on Tuesday next I will put up to public sale, a Negro woman, named Violet, a Creole, accustomed to all sorts of work, levied upon for taxes due, by G. H. Swift."

" Quasheba, a black, a drudge, age 28 years, belonging to Solomon Isaac."

It has indeed been confidently affirmed, that the law of Jamaica forbids the separation of families by sale. There is, however, no such law. And if there were, yet in practice it is obviously violated every day. There is a law indeed, that when persons of the same family are seized by the marshal, they shall be sold together. But what law can ensure their being *seized*, as well as *sold* together? And even this law is no restraint on the power of the proprietor. He may sell *fifteen young negroes, either together or singly*, as best suits his interest. And then to look at the sales by the marshal or tax-gatherer: had Quasheba or Violet no relations or connections, their ties with whom were torn asunder? Had the infants of six or eight years, sold singly, no parent, no brother, no sister? These facts speak volumes.

The following occurrence, related by Mr. Gilgrass, a methodist missionary, is decisive as to the absolute and uncontroulable right of property vested in the slave-holder.

" A master of slaves who lived near us, in Kingston, Jamaica, exercised his barbarities on a Sabbath morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel; and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted us in our devotions. But there was no redress for them or for us. This man wanted money; and one of the female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings, she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold her other child. This 'turned her heart within her,' and impelled her into a kind of madness. She

howled night and day in the yard; tore her hair; ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her cries and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, '*Da wicked massa Jew, he sell my children. Will no Buckra massa pity Negar? What me do? Me no have one child!*' As she stood before the window, she said, lifting up her hands towards heaven, '*My massa, do my massa minister, pity me! My heart do so*' (shaking her head), '*my heart do so, because me have no child. Me go to massa house, in massa yard, and in my hut, and me no see 'em.*' And then her cry went up to God."*

We shall give further evidence of the present condition of the slaves in our Colonies, by a few short extracts from the returns of the Fiscal of Berbice (a magistrate appointed to redress the grievances of the slaves), printed by order of the House of Commons, 23d of June, 1825.

A negro woman, named Laura, belonging to plantation Reliance, with a very young child at the breast, complains that she is not allowed to take her child to the field to give it the breast now and then, but is obliged to leave it with an old woman at home. When she steals from her work to the child and is discovered, the manager flogs her. She brought this child into the world with great pain; it is of a weakly constitution, and requires a mother's care, which she is not allowed to bestow. The manager does not deny any of the above facts, only says, that *the women with young children are not required to come out till half past six in the morning, and they quit the field at half past ten, return to the field at half past one, and leave it at half past five.*

The complaints are more frequent from Sandvoot, formerly one of the crown estates, than from any other plantation. "*Carolus* says he is sick and swelling, and that he cannot work though willing. When he complains of sickness, the manager licks him, instead of helping him. Yes-

* Watson's Defence of Methodists, p. 26.

terday he was twice licked." (P. 33.)—"*Amsterdam* says he is afflicted with pains in his bones; he does his best, but cannot work as others who are healthy. Mr. Cameron licks him with a horse-whip, curses him, and when he goes to the hospital drives him away." (P. 34).—*Mietje* (and her child Mars). "She says she is willing to work when healthy. She went yesterday sick to the hospital. Instead of getting physic she received a flogging. She is still sick, and has come to complain."

Mr. Grade, the manager of plantation l'Esperance, is charged by the slaves with various delinquencies. A pregnant woman, named Rosa, was employed picking coffee with some other women. Thinking they did not pick enough or well, Mr. Grade ordered the driver Zondag to flog them. The driver did so. Rosa had previously objected to working, as being too big, and being unable to stoop; but the manager overruled the objection, and she went to pick coffee on her knees. When Zondag came to her, he said to the manager, "This woman is big with child." The manager replied, "Give it to her till the blood flies out." She was flogged with the whip doubled. This was on a Friday. She was sent to the field on Saturday, but being seized with pains in her loins, was sent to the hospital. The doctor examined her, and ordered her to the field again. On Sunday she was delivered of a dead child, after a severe labour. The child's arm was broken, and one eye was bruised and sunk in the head. This woman had had seven children before by one husband. The driver, Zondag, and several others, confirmed the above statement. The driver being particularly asked, whether on his representing that Rosa was pregnant, the manager had used the expression, "never mind, flog her till the blood comes," replied "Yes." (Pp. 25—27.)

Complaint of the woman *Minkie*, belonging to Thomas C. Jones. "Says Mr. Jones took her out of the barracks on Tuesday; after I got home, he sent me to Mr. Henery; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman. I

do not know his name, but he lives in town: they both said my master asked too much money for me, and sent me back. I begged for a pass to look for an owner; he said no, he would put me down and cut my ——, and would give me more than the law gives. I was then laid down and tied to three stakes, and Chance flogged me with a cart-whip; I got a severe flogging; I saw Mr. Layfield at his door with another gentleman, and Mr. Kerschner the baker, saw it from his window. Mr. Jones bought me from Mr. Logie, of Demerara. I have marks of severe punishment visible on me, old and recent floggings, all inflicted by Jones.

Exhibits her posteriors, which are covered with a plaister, by order of the doctor, and apparently lacerated to that degree, that the court judged it expedient to direct her not to uncover it.

Mr. Jones said he *had* flogged her, and broke her mouth for her insolence. He had thirty-nine laid on her, and *they were well inflicted.* When he sent for her he had no intention of flogging her; but after sending her to three persons for sale and not succeeding, he told her she had often deserved a flogging: he then directed her to be flogged, and that they should be well laid on, which was done.

We cannot spare room for any further extracts, but we believe they will be unnecessary.

Should the reader wish to be furnished with additional evidence upon this subject, he is referred to the Report from which the above is taken, and to the following publications:—

Delineation of Colonial Slavery. By JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.

Negro Slavery, as it exists in the United States and the West Indies, especially in Jamaica. 1820.

The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves. 1825.

The West Indies as they Are. By the Rev. R. BICKELL.

If from the West Indies we pass to the United States of America, we find Slavery existing in a milder form, but still attended with the same debasing influence upon the character of the master, and the same injustice and oppression to the slave.

The following anecdote is extracted from a work entitled "Letters from Virginia, by a Virginian," quoted in Hall's Travels in the United States:—

"I took the boat this morning, and crossed the ferry over to Portsmouth, the small town which I told you is opposite to this place. It was court-day, and a large crowd of people was gathered about the door of the court-house. I had hardly got upon the steps to look in, when my ears were assailed by the voice of singing, and turning round to discover from what quarter it came, I saw a group of about thirty negroes, of different sizes and ages, following a rough-looking white man, who sat carelessly lolling in his sulky. They had just turned round the corner, and were coming up the main street to pass by the spot where I stood, on their way out of town. As they came nearer, I saw some of them loaded with chains to prevent their escape; while others had hold of each other's hands, strongly grasped, as if to support themselves in their affliction. I particularly noticed a poor mother, with an infant sucking at her breast as she walked along, while two small children had hold of her apron on either side, almost running to keep up with the rest. They came along singing a little wild hymn, of sweet and mournful melody, flying, by a divine instinct of the heart, to the consolation of religion, the last refuge of the unhappy, to support them in their distress. The sulky now stopped before the tavern, at a little distance beyond the court-house, and the driver got out. "My dear sir," said I to a person who stood near me, "can you tell me what these poor people have been doing? what is their crime? and what is to be their punishment?" "O," said he, "it is nothing at all but a parcel of negroes sold to Carolina; and that man is their driver, who has

bought them." "But what have they done, that they should be sold into banishment?" "Done!" said he, "nothing at all that I know of; their masters wanted money, I suppose, and these drivers give good prices." Here the driver, having supplied himself with brandy, and his horse with water (the poor negroes of course wanted nothing), stepped into his chair again, cracked his whip, and drove on, while the miserable exiles followed in funeral procession behind him."

The following is from Mr. Birkbeck's Notes on a Journey in America:—

"May 10. I saw two female slaves and their children sold by auction in the street; an incident of common occurrence here, though horrifying to myself and many other strangers. I could hardly bear to see them handled and examined like cattle; and when I heard their sobs, and saw the big tears roll down their cheeks at the thoughts of being separated, I could not refrain from weeping with them. In selling these unhappy beings, little regard is had to the parting of the nearest relations. Virginia prides itself on the comparative mildness of its treatment of the slaves; and, in fact, they increase in numbers, many being annually supplied from this state to those further south, where the treatment is said to be much more severe. There are regular dealers who buy them up, and drive them in gangs, chained together, to a southern market. I am informed that few weeks pass without some of them being marched through this place. A traveller told me, that he saw, two weeks ago, one hundred and twenty sold by auction in the streets of Richmond, and that they filled the air with their lamentations."

But an extract from Fearon's Travels in America will still more clearly illustrate the total disregard to the social rights and individual sufferings of the Negro, which prevails in the Slave States.

The scene is laid at Lawe's hotel, at Middletown, in Kentucky. "A few minutes before dinner, my attention was excited by the piteous cries of a human voice, accompanied with

the loud cracking of a whip. Following the sound, I found that it issued from a log-barn, the door of which was fastened. Peeping through the logs, I perceived the bar-keeper of the tavern, together with a stout man, more than six feet high, who was called Colonel ————, and a negro boy about fourteen years of age, stripped naked, receiving the lashes of these monsters, who *relieved* each other in the use of a horsewhip; the poor boy fell down upon his knees several times, begging and praying that they would not kill him, and that he would do any thing they liked; this produced no cessation in their exercise. At length Mr. Lawes, the master of the hotel, arrived, told the valiant colonel and his humane employer, the bar-keeper, to desist, and that the boy's refusal to cut wood was in obedience to his (Mr. L.'s) directions. Colonel ———— said, that 'he did not know what the Niggar had done, but that the bar-keeper requested his assistance to whip Cæsar. Of course he lent him a hand, being no more than he should expect Mr. Lawes to do for him under similar circumstances.

"At table Mr. Lawes said, that he had not been so vexed for seven years. This expression gave me pleasure, and also afforded me, as I thought, an opportunity to reprobate the general system of slavery; but not one voice joined with mine; each gave vent in the following language to the superabundant quantity of the milk of human kindness with which their breasts were overflowing:—

" 'I guess he deserved all he got.'

" 'It would have been of small account if the niggar had been whipt to death.'

" 'I always serve my niggars that way: there is nothing else so good for them.'

" It appeared that this boy was the property of a regular slave-dealer, who was then absent at Natchez with a cargo.

Mr. Lawes' humanity fell lamentably in my estimation, when he stated, 'that whipping niggars, if they were his own, was perfectly right, and they always deserved it; but

what made him mad was, that the boy was left under his care by a friend, and he did not like to have a friend's property injured.'

" There is in this instance of the treatment of a negro, nothing that in this State is at all singular; and much as I condemned New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, when in those sections, I must now give them the character of enlightened humanity compared with this State, in which such conduct as that I have described, is tolerated and approved."*

" If the political effects of slavery are pernicious to the citizen, its moral effects are still more fatal to the man. ' There must doubtless,' says Mr. Jefferson, ' be an unhappy influence on the manners of the people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his morals and manners undepraved by such circumstances.'—Notes, p. 241.

" We know the time of prodigies is past, and that natural effects will follow their causes. The manners of the lower classes in the southern states are brutal and depraved; those of the upper, corrupted by power, are frequently arrogant and assuming: unused to restraint or contradiction of any kind, they are necessarily quarrelsome; and in their quarrels the native ferocity of their hearts breaks out. Duelling is not only in general vogue and fashion, but is practised with circumstances of peculiar vindictiveness. It is usual when two

* Fearon, p. 239—241.

persons have agreed to fight, for each to go out regularly and practise at a mark, in the presence of their friends, during the interval which precedes their meeting; one of the parties, therefore, commonly falls."*

But the Negro, subject as he is to every species of abuse and indignity, and debased as he must have been by a long period of degrading servitude, still occasionally exhibits, even here, a moral elevation of character, in striking contrast to the degradation of soul so universal among his oppressors.

Lieutenant Hall has given us an account of the trial and execution of a negro, which took place during his stay in Charleston, South Carolina.

" A man died on board a merchant ship, apparently in consequence of poison mixed with the dinner served up to the ship's company. The cabin-boy and cook were suspected, because they were, from their occupations, the only persons on board who did not partake of the mess, the effects of which began to appear as soon as it was tasted. As the offence was committed on the high seas, the cook, though a negro, became entitled to the benefit of a jury, and, with the cabin-boy was put on his trial. The boy, a fine-looking lad, and wholly unabashed by his situation, was readily acquitted. The Negro's turn was next. He was a man of low stature, ill shapen, and with a countenance singularly disgusting. The proofs against him were, first, that he was cook; so who else could have poisoned the mess? It was indeed overlooked, that two of the crew had absconded since the ship came into port. Secondly, he had been heard to utter expressions of ill humour before he went on board: that part of the evidence indeed was suppressed which went to explain these expressions. The real proof, however, was written in his skin and in the uncouth lines of his countenance. He was found guilty.

" Mr. Crafts, junior, a gentleman of the Charleston bar,

* See Hall's Travels in America.

who, from motives of humanity, had undertaken his defence, did not think a man ought to die for his colour, albeit it was the custom of the country; and moved in consequence for a new trial, on the ground of partial and insufficient evidence; but the Judge, who had urged his condemnation with a vindictive earnestness, intrenched himself in forms, and found the law gave him no power in favour of mercy. He then forwarded a representation of the case to the President, through one of the senators of the State; but the senator ridiculed the idea of interesting himself for the life of a negro, who was therefore left to his cell and the hangman. In this situation he did not, however, forsake himself; and it was now, when prejudice and persecution had spent their last arrow upon him, that he seemed to put on his proper nature, to vindicate not only his innocence, but the moral equality of his race, and those mental energies which the white man's pride would deny to the shape of his head and the woolliness of his hair. Maintaining the most undeviating tranquillity, he conversed with ease and cheerfulness whenever his benevolent counsel, who continued his kind attentions to the last, visited his cell. I was present on one of these occasions, and observed his tone and manner, neither sullen nor desperate, but quiet and resigned, suggesting whatever occurred to him on the circumstances of his own case, with as much calmness as if he had been uninterested in the event; yet as if he deemed it a duty to omit none of the means placed within his reach for vindicating his innocence. He had constantly attended the exhortations of a Methodist preacher, who, for conscience sake, visited 'those who were in prison;' and, having thus strengthened his spirit with religion, on the morning of his execution, breakfasted, as usual, heartily; but before he was led out, he requested permission to address a few words of advice to the companions of his captivity. 'I have observed much in them,' he added, 'which requires to be amended, and the advice of a man in my situation may be respected.' A circle was accordingly formed in his cell, in the midst of

which he seated himself, and addressed them at some length, with a sober and collected earnestness of manner, on the profligacy which he had noted in their behaviour, while they had been fellow prisoners; recommending to them the rules of conduct prescribed by that religion in which he now found his support and consolation.

" Certainly, if we regard the quality and condition of the actors only, there is an infinite distance betwixt this scene and the parting of Socrates with his disciples: should we, however, put away from our thoughts such differences as are merely accidental, and seize that point of coincidence which is most interesting and important, namely, the triumph of mental energy over the most clinging weaknesses of our nature, the negro will not appear wholly unworthy of a comparison with the sage of Athens. The latter occupied an exalted station in the public eye; though persecuted even unto death and ignominy by a band of triumphant despots, he was surrounded in his last moments by his faithful friends and disciples, to whose talents and affection he might safely trust the vindication of his fame, and the unsullied whiteness of his memory; he knew that his hour of glory must come, and that it would not pass away. The negro had none of these aids; he was a man friendless and despised; the sympathies of society were locked up against him; he was to atone for an odious crime by an ignominious death; the consciousness of his innocence was confined to his own bosom, there probably to sleep for ever; to the rest of mankind he was a wretched criminal, an object, perhaps, of contempt and detestation, even to the guilty companions of his prison-house; he had no philosophy with which to reason down those natural misgivings which may be supposed to precede the violent dissolution of life and body; he could make no appeal to posterity to reverse an unjust judgment. To have borne all this patiently would have been much; he bore it heroically.

" Having ended his discourse, he was conducted to the scaffold, where, having calmly surveyed the crowds collected

to witness his fate, he requested leave to address them. Having obtained permission, he stept firmly to the edge of the scaffold, and having commanded silence by his gestures, 'You are come,' said he, 'to be spectators of my sufferings; you are mistaken, there is not a person in this crowd but suffers more than I do. I am cheerful and contented, for I am innocent.' He then observed, that he truly forgave all those who had taken any part in his condemnation, and believed that they had acted conscientiously from the evidence before them; and disclaimed all idea of imputing guilt to any one. He then turned to his counsel, who, with feelings which honoured humanity, had attended him to the scaffold: 'To you, sir,' said he, 'I am indeed most grateful; had you been my son, you could not have acted by me more kindly;' and observing his tears, he continued, 'This, sir, distresses me beyond any thing I have felt yet: I entreat you will feel no distress on my account, I am happy.' Then praying to heaven to reward his benevolence, he took leave of him, and signified his readiness to die, but requested he might be excused from having his eyes and hands bandaged; wishing, with an excusable pride, to give this final proof of his unshaken firmness; he, however, submitted on this point to the representations of the sheriff, and died without the quivering of a muscle.

"The spectators, who had been drawn together partly by idle curiosity and partly by a detestation of his supposed crime, retired with tears for his fate, and execrations on his murderers."*

It is admitted, however, that the treatment of the Slaves in the United States is, in general, much better than in the West India islands.

"The slave codes of several of the North American States, and particularly of Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, are still more harsh and revolting than our own; and the

* Hall, p. 433—438.

prejudices there entertained against the African colour, are, if possible, still more deep-rooted and inveterate than those of the British Colonists; and yet, if we compare the *practical* results of the treatment of the slaves in the two cases, we shall be astonished at the difference.

"In 1790, the Slave Population of the United States amounted by the census to 676,696. In 1820 it had risen to 1,531,431, being an increase of nearly 130 per cent. in thirty years.*

"In the year 1690, Jamaica contained 40,000 Slaves. Had these been allowed to increase since that time at the rate of the slaves in the United States since 1790, they would now have amounted to three or four millions; or even if they had increased at the rate at which the Maroons, a part of their own body, have, when undisturbed, been increasing, they would now amount to two or three millions. But besides this original stock of 40,000 slaves, there have been imported into and retained in Jamaica upwards of 800,000 Africans. Had these 84,000 slaves merely maintained their numbers, the slave population of Jamaica would be from *two to three times* as numerous as it is. But had they gone on increasing at the rate of slaves in the United States; or even at that of the Maroons in Jamaica itself, the population would now have been quite immense.

"But if we comprehend in our estimate, not only Jamaica, but the whole of our Slave Colonies, and review the progress of population in them all since their first formation, how appalling would be the amount of human life, in fact of *human sacrifice*, which they have cost us, and which they are still costing us! And what have been the proximate causes of all this frightful accumulation of misery and death? Without all question, they have been *severity of treatment, excess of labour, and scantiness of food.*"†

* Of this increase a portion not exceeding 100,000 at the utmost, may be attributed to fresh importations from Africa.

† See Appendix to Second Report of Anti-Slavery Society.

If no individual instances of cruelty were in existence, a fact like this would be awfully decisive of the peculiarly oppressive nature of British Colonial Slavery.

At the same time, the British Colonies are cursed no less than we have seen the Slave States of the Union to be, with that most dreadful of all the evils of slavery—the profligate state of society which results from its depraving influence upon the moral character both of the slave and his master.

"In Jamaica," Mr. Cooper says, "the state of morals and religion is as bad as can well be imagined, both among whites and blacks. With scarcely any exceptions, all of the former description residing in Plantations, live in a state of open and avowed concubinage with black and coloured women. The general profligacy in this respect is perfectly notorious and undisguised." He does not recollect to have seen a single white man there who showed any serious concern about religion, except some missionaries.*

"It must be admitted," says Dr. Williamson, "that the means of religious instruction to negroes, in Jamaica, are yet extremely defective; and, it is still more painful to add, that the white inhabitants are culpably inattentive to public religious duties. It were well if that were all. *Contempt for religion is openly avowed by a great proportion of those to be met with in that country.*

"The propriety of matrimony," he tells us, "is seldom impressed on the minds of the negroes, by the clergy or any other white persons. Indeed, the latter, themselves, show the example of a libidinous course of life, and follow that promiscuous intercourse which can scarcely be justified in savages."†

* Negro Slavery, p. 41, 42.

† Since last year, a Return from the Slave Colonies of the number of Marriages between Slaves which have taken place within five years, from the 1st of January, 1821, to the 31st of December, 1825, has been laid before the House of Commons. Nothing can so strikingly exemplify the state of West Indian Society and West Indian Morals. We subjoin the number of

Is it possible for any serious mind to read these extracts, and to reflect upon the many instances of ferocious barbarity exhibited by the masters of slaves and their agents, without acknowledging the Righteous Government and retributive justice of the Almighty? The black and coloured race do not alone experience the pernicious consequences of the prevalence of slavery. The *curse* has reached beyond them, and the moral debasement which it has engendered in the minds of the chief actors in this drama of guilt and blood—in the minds of the masters of slaves, furnishes a striking comment on that passage of Holy Writ, "They shall eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices."*

Marriages in each Island during this period, with the amount of Slave Population in each.

	Population.	*No. of Marriages in 5 years.*
Bahamas	9,000	7
Barbadoes	80,000	1
Berbice	22,000	none
Demerara	75,000	none
Dominica	15,000	129‡
Grenada	25,000	14
Honduras	——	1
Jamaica	330,000	2493§
Neves	9,500	5
St. Christopher's	20,000	18
St. Vincent's	24,000	4
Tobago	14,000	none
Trinidad	23,000	11

Can any thing in the known world be compared to the profligacy of manners which a return like this discloses?

* See Negro Slavery.

‡ Wholly by the Catholic Curè, not one between Slaves having been celebrated by any Protestant Clergyman.

§ These Marriages have chiefly taken place in the parishes where Methodist Missionaries have obtained a footing. In eleven other parishes, containing 173,000 Slaves, there are only 68 Marriages in five years, or about 13 in each year.

MEASURES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR AMELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE SLAVES IN ITS COLONIES, &c.

The Reader has now been presented with a faint outline of the evils of Slavery. The few facts which have been selected from a multitude of similar character, are not cases of unexampled or infrequent atrocity, they are the daily recurring enormities of the system; they prove but too plainly that slavery is, under all circumstances, the same revolting institution, and awfully and impressively illustrate the dreadful accumulation of guilt and misery which it involves.

After the Slave Trade had been abolished by this country in the year 1807, it was generally believed that we had cleared our hands from the stain of its iniquities, and it is only two or three years ago that the people of England were made acquainted with the injustice and oppression still exercised upon the African race within the limits of the British Empire and under the sanction of British laws. The facts then made public gave rise to a general sentiment of indignation, and petitions from all parts of the country were soon presented to Parliament, calling upon the Legislature to interpose its authority for the protection of the slaves.

On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Buxton made a motion upon the subject in the House of Commons, when the following amended resolutions were proposed by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and carried unanimously:—

"That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty's dominions.

"That through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, the House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population; such as may pre-

pare them for a participation in the civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

" That the House is anxious for the accomplishment of that purpose at the earliest period which shall be compatible with the well-being of slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration for the interests of private property."

In pursuance of these resolutions, the Ministers pledged themselves to the speedy adoption of measures for mitigating the evils of slavery in our Colonies, with a view to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves.

An Order in Council was in consequence framed, comprising a variety of regulations for ameliorating the condition of the slave population, which it was understood were to be enforced in all the Crown Colonies. Instructions were also transmitted by Earl Bathurst to the Governors of the other Colonies, requiring each of them to urge the adoption of similar measures of improvement upon the Legislature of the Colony under his government, and detailing at some length the nature of the reforms which his Majesty's Ministers had in contemplation.

Of the nature of these instructions some judgment may be formed from the following brief sketch of the Order in Council promulgated in Trinidad, in which they were for the most part embodied.

Of this Order, Clauses 1, 6, 7, and 8—relate to the appointment of a Protector and Guardian of the Slaves, to whom a variety of important functions are assigned.

Clauses 9 and 10.—As soon as effectual provision shall have been made for the religious instruction of the slaves, Sunday markets are to cease; and in the mean time they are to be held only before ten in the morning of Sunday. As soon, however, as effectual provision shall have been made for religious instruction, then Thursday is to be made the market-day instead of Sunday. The master is forbid to compel the slave to labour for his benefit on the Sunday.

Clause 11—prohibits the use of the whip, or other instrument of the like nature, for the purpose of coercing or compelling labour in the field.

Clause 12—directs, that when the whip is used as an instrument of punishment by the master or manager, the number of lashes shall not exceed twenty-five at any one time, and for one offence; nor is any punishment to be inflicted till former lacerations are completely healed. Twenty-four hours must pass after an offence has been committed, before it can be punished; and when punishment is inflicted it must be in the presence of a competent witness, besides the person by whose authority it is inflicted.

Clause 13—prohibits the flogging of female slaves under any circumstances.

Clauses 14—21—direct, that on all plantations a record of punishments should be kept, specifying the crime which has been committed, and the kind and extent of punishment inflicted: the record to be signed by the parties present, and copies of this record, certified upon oath, to be regularly transmitted through the Protector to the Governor, in order to be sent to the Secretary of State. Severe penalties are also imposed for the neglect or falsification of this record, and the mode pointed out of bringing the master who inflicts an illegal punishment to justice.

Clause 22—provides for the intermarriage of slaves; and such marriage is made binding in law, whether celebrated by a Clergyman of the Church of England, by a Catholic Priest, or by a Dissenting Minister.

Clause 23—makes it unlawful, by any judicial process, to seize and sell, apart and separately from each other, the husband and wife, or reputed wife, or child under sixteen years of age.

Clauses 24—28—ordain, that the property of the slaves shall be secured to them by law; and savings banks are provided, in which to deposit their peculium; which they are allowed to transmit by will.

Clauses 29—34—abolish all taxes and fees on manumission, and give a power, which is adequately secured, to slaves, to purchase their freedom, or that of their children, at a fair appraisement, whenever they have the means of doing it.

Clauses 35, 36—ordain, that any slave, whom any clergyman, priest, or religious teacher, shall certify to understand the nature of an oath, shall be recorded as entitled to give evidence in courts of justice in all cases, except in civil suits where the master is concerned, or in trials affecting the life of a white man. It is also provided, however, that the power now possessed, by courts of criminal jurisdiction, of admitting slave evidence, shall not be diminished by this enactment.

Clauses 37—40—contain regulations respecting the office of Protector, or Assistant Protector of the Slave; and for preventing perjury in the execution of the Order in Council.

Clause 41—subjects any free person convicted of a misdemeanor under this act, to a fine of not less than £50, or more than £500; or to imprisonment for not less than one, or more than six months; or to both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court convicting him. And if the conviction be for cruelty to a slave, the court may declare the property in such slave to be forfeited to the King. All fines are to be divided between the King and the prosecutor in equal moieties.

Clause 42—orders, that if any one shall be twice convicted of inflicting on any slave any cruel or unlawful punishment, he shall be declared by the court convicting him absolutely incapable of being the owner, or acting as the manager or overseer of a slave in the island; and all slaves belonging to him shall be forfeited to the King.

Now it is important to remark, that the various provisions of this order, with the exception of Clauses 35 and 36, relating to the evidence of slaves, were framed at the suggestion of the West India body in England. The plan was their's; it was adopted on their recommendation, and supported in

Parliament by their concurrence. Although it comprises many salutary regulations, it is essentially defective in several important respects. It still leaves to the master the power of inflicting arbitrary punishment with the whip, and still allows him, in the sale of his slaves, to tear asunder the tenderest ties of nature at pleasure.* As we might expect from the source in which it originated, all its provisions are framed with the most scrupulous care to avoid any kind of interference with the absolute right of property claimed by the planter.

Yet this Order, imposed by the authority of Government, and supported by the sanction of the West India body at home, has been resisted by the Planters of Trinidad, as an invasion of their most sacred rights, pregnant with inevitable ruin to all their interests.

The Order in Council, they assert, "has made an entire revolution in the system under which slaves were heretofore managed and governed." "Changes," they say, "are always to be deprecated, especially in a slave colony, where the whole of the labouring population are deprived of their natural rights; and nothing but the force of habit, and a brutish indistinct idea of the superiority and fixed power of their masters, keep them in awe and subjection." One great source of discomfort to the slave is stated to be the change produced by the Order in Council in the *old mode* of punishment, "so well established, recognized, and understood by the slave;" (alluding of course to the abolition of flogging as it respects the women, and of the driving whip as it respects both sexes). "By those," they remark, "who have most considered the subject in this colony, the use of the whip is believed to be identified with the existence of slavery."†

But in reply to these, and many other remonstrances of the Colonists, in which they seem almost at a loss for language strong enough to express their alarm, the Governor, Sir R. Woodford, whose instructions were peremptory, refuses to

* See Appendix A. of Second Anti-Slavery Report.
† See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

suspend this Order, and affirms, what we have above stated, that " the points comprised in it were recommended to his Majesty's Government by the whole body of West India Planters and Merchants in London, as fit concessions on the part of the Slave Proprietors."

If such was the spirit in which the Planters of Trinidad resisted the orders of Government, it was scarcely to be expected that the different Colonial Legislatures would shew a greater readiness in adopting the suggestions of the Ministers for the improvement of their Slave Code. In some of the islands they have absolutely refused to make any changes in accordance with these suggestions; in others, after professions of acquiescence, they have done nothing. In several, indeed, acts have been passed for amending the existing laws, but, with very few exceptions, these amendments have been of the most unsatisfactory description; and in many instances, this *ameliorated* slave code, as it is termed, has contained clauses so utterly at variance with every principle of justice, that they would have disgraced the statutes of the most barbarous age.

A few of these enactments will afford sufficient proof, if proof were yet wanting, how little is to be expected from the Colonists when they undertake to reform their own laws.

In Clause 40 of the New Consolidated Slave Code of the Bahamas, after all that has been said and written upon the subject, it has been re-enacted, " That a negro or mulatto, who shall have been committed to gaol as a runaway, after having been confined and worked there for twelve months, shall, without any proof of his being a slave, and against the fair presumption of his being a free man, have the additional cruel and irreparable wrong inflicted upon him of being sold into perpetual bondage.*

Clause 69 contains the following enactment:—

" Slaves receiving sentence of death or transportation,

* Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 10.

shall be appraised and valued. But if it shall appear that the owner of such slave had treated him or her with inhumanity, and that necessity or hard usage might have driven such slave to the commission of the offence of which he or she shall have been convicted;* then, no valuation shall be made, nor certificate granted; and the owner shall not be entitled to receive any allowance whatever for such slave from the public.†"

In repiy to the remonstrances of Earl Bathurst on this and similar enactments, the Assembly observes, that "a strong sense of the great impolicy and absolute danger of making any further innovations at present in the slave system of the colony, *and a decided conviction of the correctness of the principles on which they are now acting*, compel them to refuse to alter their legislation."‡

In Barbadoes, two sessions have been consumed in debate and deliberation, and nothing has yet been done towards the reform of the Slave Code. The last session of their legislature opened with large promises, accompanied however with a spirit of violence and irritation even on the part of the professed reformers, which afforded but slender hope of their fulfilment. The very mover of the proposed reforms seemed to feel that he could not expect a hearing, without the most unmeasured abuse of the Abolitionists and their motives. "The diabolical falsehoods and infamous aspersions of a few interested and designing hypocrites"—we quote verbatim from his speech, as reported in the West Indian newspapers of the day—"moving in terrific

* "Is it possible for any man to read, without amazement and horror, that though the convicted slave should have been proved to have been driven to his crime by necessity, or hard usage on the part of his master—a master possessing absolute and uncontrolled power—yet that the law does not order his sentence of condemnation to be reversed, but leaves him to be executed or transported, as the case may be; while the only punishment inflicted on the real criminal is, that he does not receive the value of the murdered slave."—Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 12.

† See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 11, 12.

‡ Ibid. p. 14.

phalanx to the total annihilation of the white inhabitants of the West Indies" marked them out in his opinion as a "vindictive crew," indulging "the abominable desire to cast headlong into the gulph of destruction, or endless misery, so large a portion of their fellow creatures, equally with themselves the followers of Christ. No justification can they have in their hellish design but that which originated and is fostered in their own dark and interested souls. Endeavour, however," he says to his co-legislators, "to tranquillize (as far as your natures will permit) those acute feelings which must agitate the breast of every enlightened and virtuous West Indian, against that detestable Institution which, keenly and immoveably bent upon your destruction, has, with consummate ingenuity, erected and set in motion against you a tremendous machinery, throwing out at each evolution misery and woe. Soar above prejudice, and leave far behind you slanderers and vilifiers; steadily steering your country through the muddy waters of bitter calumny, and leaving her safely moored in the bright and tranquil shores of truth. Discharge your duty, forgetting every cause of irritation. Follow the mild dictates of your religion: shew to your accursed enemies that they, with their empty theories, carry blood and cruelty, risking not one iota of their ill-gotten wealth, while you in your practice extend, at the risk of your very existence, the real benefits of heaven-beaming philanthropy."—But all the violence of this vituperation was insufficient to secure the slightest degree of popular favour in Barbadoes, to the man who had dared to innovate, however sparingly, on the sacred institutions of its slave code. The speech was followed by upwards of two months of deliberation in the Assembly on the bill which it introduced; but during this time the mover of it appears to have been assailed, out of doors, by every species of clamour and invective. He speaks of "the irritable working of parochial feeling, which, in its effervescence, had disturbed him in the course of his duties," and exhorts the House "to guard, with scru-

pulous caution, against the influence of the feelings that are afloat without doors, agitating the minds of those who do not, cannot, will not, understand the question they exclaim against." He then alludes to the threatening tone which had been employed to deter him from his duty, and to the martyrdom to which he might possibly be called by the hostility of his constituents.

And what produced all this rage and violence on the part of the people of Barbadoes? A proposal merely to modify some of those cruel and sanguinary laws which had so long been the disgrace of its statute book. Under the influence, doubtless, of this popular feeling, the proposed amelioration law, on leaving the Assembly, and proceeding to the Council, was found to be still so disfigured by severity, and so defective in its provisions of protection to the slave, that the Council rejected it, as calculated to produce a more unfavourable impression of Barbadian humanity than if no change whatever had been attempted.*

In Barbadoes, however, a new slave law has, at length, been passed. Of this much-boasted act it has been justly remarked, that "it does not remove any of the obstructions to the manumission of slaves, nor does it enable slaves to purchase their freedom. It does not cause slaves to cease to be chattels, or prevent their being sold at the discretion of the owner, to the disrupture of the dearest family ties. It provides no means of instruction for them, and does not abolish Sunday markets and Sunday labour. It does not protect them in the possession or transmission of their property; nor relieve them from the burden of legally proving their freedom when freed, nor legalize marriage among them; nor put an end to the driving system, or to the flogging of women; or to arbitrary punishments to an almost unlimited extent, for any offence or for no offence. The very provisions framed with a view to mitigate the rigours of their former

* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

state, avail but little to that purpose, while they serve to mark more unequivocally the depth of their degradation."*

In Berbice nothing whatever appears to have been done in the work of reform. Governor Beard having pressed the subject at different times on the attention of the Council without effect, observes, in addressing Earl Bathurst, "I have no hope of the Council redeeming their pledge in this respect, or acceding in any manner to the proposed measures of his Majesty's Government."

In Bermuda, Demerara, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, either nothing, or nothing in any degree satisfactory, has been done in reforming the slave code.†

In Tobago an Act containing some considerable improvements was passed—like the rest, however, it had many omissions and many objectionable clauses; but after Lord Bathurst's remonstrances in regard to these, had been laid before the Colonial Legislature, the Governor, Sir F. P. Robinson, writes, that it is his decided opinion "that nothing more will be done towards the melioration of the condition of the slaves in this colony by the Legislature."—He transmits, at the same time, a message from the House of Assembly rejecting the Order of Trinidad entirely.‡

But it is by the Legislature of Jamaica, the largest of our islands, and alone containing nearly one-half of our whole slave population, that the most determined hostility has been evinced to every proposition emanating from this country for ameliorating the condition of the slaves.

The only measure of reform which appears to have been introduced in consequence of the communication of Earl Bathurst's propositions to the Assembly, was "a bill to enable slaves to give evidence in certain cases of crime committed against slaves, and of criminal attempts to excite rebel-

* Slave Colonies, p. 25.
† Ibid. Passim.
‡ Ibid. p. 103, 104.

lion and insurrection, and of uttering seditious language. But even this bill, though most jealously guarded, and extremely defective in its provisions, was thrown out by a majority of thirty-four to *one!*

The violence of opposition manifested by the Assembly, has been only exceeded by the still more unmeasured resistance of the Parish Vestries, and the absolute rage of the Journalists.

Not contented with heaping the most abusive epithets upon the different Members of the British Ministry, as well as upon the Abolitionists, a body of Planters in Jamaica, wholly unconscious of their own insignificance, have put forth a declaration, that "*if the Commons' House—and the Lords' House—and the King at their head, were to join in making laws for the better treatment of the slaves, they should pay no other regard to their laws than to treat them with contempt.*" !!

As a general comment upon all the recent proceedings in the Colonies, as regards the proposals of the British Ministry, we extract the following from the Third Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, published Dec. 21, 1825.

"The local Legislatures have refused, without a single exception, to comply even with the moderate requisitions of his Majesty's Ministers, as these are embodied in the Order in Council for Trinidad; and the Colonists, generally, exult in the refusal, encouraging each other to persevere in the same contumacious course. Their tone of secure and triumphant irony is remarkable. 'We beg you to observe,' says the editor of one of their newspapers—and we give the passage only as an illustration of the prevailing spirit—'We beg you to observe, that not one of the unconquered colonies' (meaning the colonies having legislatures of their own) 'have had the *civility* to comply with Earl Bathurst's wishes, notwithstanding he informed them, *in the most earnest and feel-*

-le serious extent of the disappointment

*which his Majesty's Government would experience if they rejected his application. We sympathize most sincerely with his Lordship on this unexpected event.'"**

Such is the spirit in which the colonists have met the humane intentions of Government, and such are the laws which they have framed even when professing to act in accordance with them. Instead of being sensible that such laws outrage every principle of justice and feeling of humanity, they actually hold them forth as models of enlightened and beneficent legislation. But if the laws themselves be, as they are, a crime, what must be their administration in the hands of the men who framed them, and who do not blush to boast of them?

A reply to this question is furnished by a return recently made of the proceedings of the Fiscals of Demerara and Berbice, in their capacity of Guardians and Protectors of the Slaves.

The return from Demerara comprises a period of three months only, from June to September, 1824. The following are a few extracts:—.

1. The Negroes of Plantation Big Diamond complain of ill treatment: three of the ringleaders are punished, "the complaint being unwarranted."

2. The Negroes of Plantation Friendship make the same complaint: four are punished, and all are sent back severely reprimanded.

3. Negroes of the Plantation la Bonna Mere make the same complaint: it is pronounced frivolous and unwarrantable, and seven of them are punished.

* Although the Government had thus already tried in vain the methods of recommendation and persuasion with the different Colonies, and although in this manner three years had been already consumed to no purpose, yet during the last year (1826) they have again condescended to send out propositions to the Colonial Legislatures, for their *adoption*, *rejection*, or *modification*. The fate of these is not yet decided, but from all the intelligence that has hitherto reached us, they do not appear to have been received by the Colonists in a better spirit than before.

4. The gangs of Plantation Belle Hope complain of ill usage, hard work, starvation, &c.: the complaint is pronounced frivolous and ill-founded, and three of the ring-leaders are punished.

5. Izak, of Plantation Fowlis, complains of ill treatment: he is punished.

6. George makes a like complaint: he is to go to his work, and to be punished.

7. A woman and boy complain of want of clothing and ill treatment: unfounded: the woman confined eight days, the boy flogged.

General Murray, the late Governor of Demerara, well known by the share he had in the prosecution of Smith the Missionary, has two estates in Berbice, Resolution and Buses Lust. On the 23d of October, 1821, the manager of the former estate, Hopkins, was reproved by the Fiscal for having given three successive floggings to a negro named Mark, who states

"He has been flogged severely by the manager, on account of complaining he was sick, three different times; once 12, another time 39, and again 25 lashes have been inflicted; shews marks of severe flogging, and much neglected."

On the 29th of November there is another complaint from the same estate.

Michael says he is a negro, and knows very well he must work; but that they work from morning till late in the evening picking coffee, "and when he comes home, between six and seven in the evening, instead of going home to get some victuals, he is ordered to work till twelve at night, bringing mud from one place to another. Also on Sundays they are ordered to work, and if they should refuse they would be flogged."

Philip makes a similar complaint.

Thomas says "he is an old man, and the work that the manager gives him to do it is impossible for him to complete,

from the weakness of his body and state; for which he is always punished, and kept continually in the stocks."

The result of the complaints made to the Fiscal is seldom given. In this instance it is given in very laconic terms, and will doubtless surprise our readers—"*Two directed to receive* SEVENTY-FIVE *lashes.*"

On the 3d of March, 1823, nine Negroes, all women, belonging to Plantation Port Moraunt, appeared to complain of the manager, that they are "constantly in the field from morning before gun-fire until late in the evening; that the work the manager gives is too much; that they are unable to complete it, although they work during breakfast time."

"Sometimes they are obliged to work on Sunday to finish the task given during the week; and often have no time to eat from morning till night; if the row is not finished they are put in the stocks, and kept in until morning, when they are released and sent to work; sometimes the whole of the women are flogged for the sake of two or three not finishing their task. Last Friday the driver was flogged on account of his having allowed the women to come to the house to get breakfast, and they were sent all back to their work; the manager saying to them that they had time to eat at night, and not in the day. On Saturday last the manager went to the field, and found that they had not finished their row, and immediately ordered four women to be flogged."

"On investigation of this complaint," observes the Fiscal, who, be it remembered, is himself a planter, "it appeared,

"That although the tasks given to the negroes of the estate were not actually more than they could do in a day, yet that the manager was very severe upon them, and too frequently inflicted punishment without sufficient cause; he was therefore informed that his conduct would be vigilantly looked after in future; and if he continued the same system, the attorney of the estate would be recommended to discharge him from the management."

Such was the result of these acknowledged atrocities.

The following complaint from the same estate was heard on the 27th of March, 1823, and the result will further illustrate the course of judicial proceedings in the Slave Colonies.

"Ness states that he is the driver over the women, and the manager asked him last Sunday why he did not go to work, and he answered that he had not been ordered to do so, or he would have gone to work, as he did not wish to do any thing without the manager's order. The manager then offered to flog him: but he made his escape, and came to your Honour for redress.

"*The complainant in this instance was punished by the acting Fiscal for having left the estate and come to town to complain without any cause,* and when he knew he had been guilty of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty; and the manager was *warned of the impropriety and illegality of working the negroes on Sunday.*"*

The manager is not punished for so flagrant a breach of the law, but warned of its impropriety! The poor negro is punished!

No better comment can be made on such atrocious proceedings than that of the murdered Missionary Smith. "If it be asked," said he, in speaking of the cruel treatment of the slaves in Demerara—"If it be asked, Are there not authorities to whom the injured slaves can appeal for redress? The answer is in the affirmative. But many of the legally constituted authorities are themselves owners of plantations, following the same system, and perhaps, by means of their

* Since last year, the Fiscal of Berbice, at the express desire of the Council of that Colony, has transmitted to this country an official vindication of the Report in which the above facts are related. It is drawn up with the avowed object of *rebutting* the charges against West Indian humanity and justice which had been founded on the original Report; but so far from succeeding in this object, it tends to confirm, and even to aggravate those charges. By far the most atrocious and horrific of the statements contained in the report are incontestibly proved and even admitted to have been true.—For a Review of this vindication, see Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 16.

managers, practising the same abuses on their slaves. Judging from their conduct, it would seem that some of them consider it a greater crime for the negroes to complain of their wrongs, than for the master to *inflict* them. The complainants are almost sure to be flogged, and frequently before the complaint is investigated, if listening to the exculpatory tale of the master can be called investigation; and even when the cause is so evidently on the side of the complainant that it can neither be denied nor evaded, the decision is so studiously concealed from them, that they scarcely know whether the law is to protect the oppressed or to indemnify the oppressor; nor can they always solve this problem from the result."

But it is time to leave this part of our subject. Enough, and more than enough has been stated to prove, in the language of one of our most distinguished statesmen, "that the masters of slaves are not to be trusted in what concerns legislation for slavery. That, however specious their laws may appear, they must be ineffectual in their operation," because "there is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism in *all* cases, and under *all* circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power."

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE BENEFIT WHICH WOULD ARISE FROM CULTIVATING TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS BY FREE LABOUR.

IN taking a review of the foregoing details, what a dark and discouraging prospect is presented to us. The persevering efforts of the great and good men who first befriended the African race have, it is true, after a long protracted struggle, obtained from the Legislature of Great Britain the entire Abolition of the Slave Trade; that Trade has been declared Piracy by Great Britain and by the United States of America; most of the European Powers have consented to relinquish it; and England has long kept an armed naval force upon the coast of Africa to enforce its abandonment by the subjects of other nations as well as by her own. But all has been in vain. The scourge of this abominable traffic still desolates the shores of Africa as widely as ever, while the crimes and horrors which attend it have been aggravated rather than diminished.

But the legalized state of Slavery in our own dominions, as depicted in the preceding pages, is a system of injustice and oppression no less atrocious than the Slave Trade itself.

We have become convinced of this: we have found it impossible to contemplate its revolting features without the liveliest emotions of shame and indignation; and we have endeavoured—the Government and the People of this Country have strenuously endeavoured to mitigate its evils.

But here, also, our efforts have been exerted in vain.

The humane recommendations of the British Ministry have been met by an obstinate and contemptuous opposition on the part of the Colonists, whose conduct has declared, in terms the most distinct and explicit, that, as far as in them

lies, they will preserve and perpetuate the worst abuses of slavery.

Under the influence of such considerations, we seem almost compelled to abandon in despair the cause of the Negro and the interests of humanity. We are almost ready to believe that he has been destined by some unalterable decree to remain for ever the victim of oppression. But to admit such an opinion would be an imputation upon the justice of the Deity, in the moral government of the universe, wholly at variance with his known attributes, and we are, therefore, induced to hope, that he has provided, by some method as yet but little regarded, for the entire extinction of slavery.

In the ordinary course of human affairs, the interest and the duty of mankind appear to be in general inseparably connected—in contradicting the will of our Creator, we seldom fail to disappoint our own. As, therefore, no system at variance with the laws of God, and injurious to his rational creation, can ever be ultimately beneficial to those who carry it on, we should, on these considerations alone, be authorised in concluding that Slavery, accompanied as it is, in every stage of its existence, by rapine, injustice, and oppression, must disappoint the selfish aims of those who think themselves interested in maintaining it.

Man, as he proceeded from the hands of his Creator, and in the exercise of that freedom which is his birth-right, is of far greater value than when enslaved, and degraded to the condition of a brute. In the one case, "his exertions are animated by hope; in the other, depressed by despair; in the one they are sustained by the energies of nature, in the other extorted by the mechanical operation of the lash;" and for these reasons the industry of freedom may be confidently presumed to be more productive than that of slavery, and by a natural consequence, more beneficial to those who employed it and put it in motion.

It is believed that the facts which we are about to bring

forward will establish, to the conviction of every candid and dispassionate enquirer, the truth of the axiom—

"*That the labour of the Free Man is cheaper than that of the Slave.*"

In tracing the important consequences which result from this general principle, we shall have frequent occasion to admire the consummate wisdom which has provided by means so simple, a complete ultimate remedy for the grossest system of wrong which human villany ever invented. We shall turn with heartfelt delight from the crimes and miseries of man, from the feeble efforts of human benevolence, and the misdirected or abortive exertions of human power, to contemplate the silent, but irresistible operation of those laws which have been appointed in the counsels of Providence to terminate the oppressions of the African race.

"The expence of slave labour," says Adam Hodgson, in his valuable letter to J. B. Say, on the comparative value of Free and Slave Labour, "resolves itself into the annual sum which, in the average term of the productive years of a slave's life, will liquidate the cost of purchase or rearing, and support in old age, if he attain it, with interest, and the sum annually expended in his maintenance.

"If we omit the case of purchased slaves, and suppose them to be bred on the estate (and as breeding is now admitted to be, under ordinary circumstances, the cheapest mode of supply, your argument will gain by the supposition), the expence of free labour will resolve itself into precisely the same elements, since the wages paid to free labourers of every kind, must be such as to enable them, one with another, to bring up a family and continue their race."

Now it is observed by Adam Smith, "the wear and tear of a free servant is equally at the expence of his master, and it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for replacing and repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of a slave, is commonly managed by a

negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the free man, is managed by the free man himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former; the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor, as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter." The Russian political economist, Storch, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive empire, makes the same remark, almost in the same words. Hume expresses a similar opinion in decided terms; and I have now before me a statement from one of the slave districts in the United States, in which it is estimated that, taking the purchase money, or the expence of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which to liquidate the first cost, his labour will be at least twenty-five per cent. dearer than that of the free labourer in the neighbouring districts.

From the preceding particulars it appears highly probable that the cost of rearing and maintaining a slave would render his labour, under ordinary circumstances at least, as oppressive as that of the free labourer, but in addition to this it would be far less productive.

" The slave," says Storch, " working always for another, and never for himself, being limited to a bare subsistence, and seeing no prospect of improving his condition, loses all stimulus to exertion, he becomes a machine, often very obstinate, and very difficult to manage. A man who is not rewarded in proportion to the labour he performs, works as little as he can; this is an acknowledged truth, which the experience of every day confirms. Let a free labourer work by the day, he will be indolent; pay him by the piece, he will often work to excess, and ruin his health. If this observation is just in the case of the free labourer, it must be still more so in that of the slave."

Hume remarks, " I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from a slave, as the dread of being turned off, and not getting another service, will give a free man."

Burke observes, in his Treatise on European Settlements, " I am the more convinced of the necessity of these indulgences, as slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as free men. The mind goes a great way in every thing, and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours, the more he is to acquire; this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues, under which he would otherwise have sunk."

" That the proprietors of West India estates," observes Dr. Beattie, " would be in any respect materially injured by employing free servants (if these could be had) in their several manufactures, is highly improbable, and has, indeed, been absolutely denied by those who were well informed on this subject. A clergyman of Virginia assured me, that a white man does double the work of a slave; which will not seem wonderful, if we consider that the former works for himself, and the latter for another; that by the law, one is protected, the other oppressed; and that in the articles of food and clothing, relaxation and rest, the free man has innumerable advantages. It may, therefore, be presumed, that if all who serve in the colonies were free, the same work would be performed by half the number which is now performed by the whole."

Koster, in his Travels in the Brazils, observes, " the slave trade is impolitic, on the broad principle that a man in a state of bondage will not be so serviceable to the community as one who acts for himself, and whose whole exertions are directed to the advancement of his own fortune; the creation of which by regular means adds to the general prosperity of the society to which he belongs. This undoubted and indis-

putable fact must be still more strongly impressed on the mind of every one who has been in the habit of seeing the manner in which slaves perform their daily labour. Their indifference, and the extreme slowness of every movement, plainly point out the trifling interest which they have in the advancement of the work. I have watched two parties labouring in the same field, one of free persons, the other of slaves, which occasionally, though very seldom, occurs. The former are singing, joking, and laughing, and are always actively turning hand and foot; whilst the latter are silent, and if they are viewed from a little distance, their movements are scarcely to be perceived."*

Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbadoes as Secretary to the late Honourable Edward Hay, the Governor of that island, observes, "that it has been known for many ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of free men."

From a calculation made under the guidance of M. Coulomb, an able mathematician and experienced engineer, who conducted extensive building works both in France and the West Indies, he infers, "that field slaves do only between a third and a half of the work despatched by reluctant French soldiers, and probably not more than a third of what those very slaves would do if urged by their own interest.

"I must additionally refer," remarks the same intelligent writer, "to an excellent pamphlet entitled Observations on Slavery, published in 1788, and now out of print, by my late worthy friend, Dr. James Anderson, who shews, that the labour of a West India slave costs about *thrice* as much as it would cost if executed by a free man." Taking another case, he demonstrates that if the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own times, were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage, regulated by law, was *twice* as dear as that of the free

* Hodgson's Letter to Say, p. 8.

men who wrought in other coal mines in the same country, and *thrice* as dear as common day-labour."*

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less productive by the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them; but the presumption is contradicted by experience.

"A few Polish Nobles," observes Coxe, in his Travels in Poland, "of benevolent hearts and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shewn this to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of the peasants; for it appears that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion.

"The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants was Zamoiski, formerly Great Chancellor, who in 1761 enfranchised six villages in the palatinate of Masovia. These villages were, in 1777, visited by the author of the patriotic letters, from whom I received the following information:—

"On inspecting the parish registers of births from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, he found the births 434; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 628; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 585. By these extracts it appeared that during the

First period, there were only 43 births }
Second ditto, ... 62 ditto } each year.
Third ditto, ... 77 ditto }

"The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In the state of vassalage, Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build

* See Hodgson's Letter, p. 9, 10.

cottages and barns for his peasants, and to furnish them with food, horses, and ploughs, and every implement of agriculture. Since their enfranchisement, they are become so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves with all these necessaries at their own expence, and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the manual labour formerly exacted by their master. *By these means, the receipts of this particular estate have been nearly tripled.*

"The example of Zamoiski has been followed by Chreptowitz, Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania, and the Abbe Bryzolowski, with similar success. Prince Stanislaus, the King of Poland, has warmly patronised the plan of giving liberty to the peasants. He has enfranchised four villages not far from Warsaw, in which he has not only emancipated the peasants from their slavery, but even condescends to direct their affairs. He explained to me, in the most satisfactory manner, that the grant of freedom was no less advantageous to the lord than to the peasant, provided the former is willing to superintend their conduct for a few years, and to put them in the way of acting for themselves. He intends giving the public a particular account of his arrangements, and will shew how much he has increased the value of his estate, as well as the happiness of his peasants."

In Hungary a similar experiment has been made of emancipating the vassals, and with the same success.

Count Festetits, an Hungarian nobleman, having purchased an estate in the Murakös, a tract of country between the Muhr and the Drave, granted lands to the peasantry at a fixed annual rent, instead of the common tenure of service. In these free villages the value of land has risen to such a degree, that the owner of four acres is esteemed wealthy, and the population has increased from fifty families to six hundred. Although still subject to the government duties, and suffering from the effects of two bad seasons and an inundation of the Drave, these peasants were, in 1814, striving cheerfully with the difficulties of their situation, while their

neighbours, on the common footing, although each family possessed *thirty* acres, were reduced to subsist on the bounty of their lord. Those free villages, also, afford an exception to the general dishonesty of the Hungarian peasantry; their household furniture is often exposed on the outside of the cottages, and does not even require the protection of the large dogs common in the rest of the country.*

It is stated in the Supplement to the Report of the Privy Council, in reply to the 17th of the Queries from his Excellency Governor Parry, answered by the Hon. Joshua Steel, a planter of 1068 acres in the parishes of St. John, St. Philip, and St. George, in the island of Barbadoes—"On a plantation of 288 slaves, in June, 1780, viz. 90 men, 82 women, 56 boys, and 60 girls, there were only 15 births, and no less than 57 deaths, in three years and three months. An alteration was made in the mode of governing the slaves, the whips were taken from all the white servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried, and sentence passed by a negro court. *In four years and three months,* under this change of government, there were 44 births, and only 41 deaths, of which 10 deaths were of superannuated men and women, and past labour, some above 80 years old. *But, in the same interval, the annual nett clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been for ten years before.*"

The preceding facts and authorities form but a very small portion of what can be adduced in support of our position—that the Labour of the Free Man is cheaper than that of the Slave.

Should the reader desire a more copious illustration of this interesting subject, he will find it in the valuable pamphlet to which we have so often referred, and from which the above passages have been chiefly extracted. He can scarcely,

* See Bright's Travels in Hungary.

however, avoid being struck with the surprising coincidence which exists between all the facts that we have cited, although occurring under very different circumstances, and in situations widely distant from each other; or fail to acknowledge that they are of themselves sufficient to establish, in the clearest and most convincing manner, the important principle for which we are contending.

We are authorised, therefore, in assuming it as a general rule, that the employment of Slave Labour is destructive to the interests of the master. This rule admits of only one exception. In countries possessing a large quantity of rich unoccupied soil, the temporary views of the land-owner may be promoted by the system of slavery, notwithstanding its general disadvantages.

Land can have no value without people, and its fertility may be so great as to counterbalance the disadvantages of slave labour. Where land is so easily obtained, a man will rather work for himself than become the hired labourer of another, and from this circumstance, the wages of free labour may be so high as to be more expensive than the labour of slaves.

These considerations will explain the reason why the land-owners of Illinois attempted to obtain the introduction of slavery into that newly inhabited state.

But this state of things cannot continue long. As population increases, all the richer lands become occupied; the difficulty of obtaining hired labourers is at an end; and the wages of free labour, in consequence, soon reach that point at which it becomes, as in other cases, the interest of the cultivator to employ it in preference to slave labour.

If, however, blind to his own interest, he continue to persist in his impolitic system of slave cultivation, the natural fertility of the soil may be so great as to enable him to do so without absolute ruin to himself. But even this advantage will soon fail him, for, by an admirable provision of the Author of Nature, slave cultivation has an invariable tendency

to lessen the fertility of the soil. In a manner which at first sight appears almost miraculous, the earth refuses to lend her support to a system of injustice, and while "she multiplies her productions with profusion under the hands of a free-born labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave." The causes of this extraordinary fact will be made clear to us by a few very simple considerations.

It is well known that a continual succession of the same crops will deteriorate the richest soils. To maintain their fertility it is necessary to have recourse to green crops and the pasturage of cattle; and in the natural course of things under the influence of freedom, the demands of a civilized community make it the interest of the cultivator to devote a considerable portion of his land to these purposes.

But under a system of slavery his interests are widely different. He has then no inducement to rear cattle. The labour usually assigned to them in a free country is performed by his slaves, and he has therefore no need of their living services. They would be equally useless to him when dead, because beef and mutton are luxuries almost wholly denied to the slave, who is obliged to content himself with the cheapest and coarsest food which can support life. In other respects they would be of little or no value to him, because the wants of a slave population are not considered to require either leather or woollen cloth, or any of those comforts which the free man derives so largely from the animals whose flesh supplies him with food.

For these reasons, in slave countries it is the constant practice to persevere in a ruinous succession of the same exhausting crops, and the productiveness of the soil is, in consequence, gradually diminished. In our West India islands this has taken place universally; in the United States the same effects have arisen from the same cause. Even in countries where the population, although not actually enslaved, has been long degraded by oppression to a condition

nearly allied to slavery, the same fact has been exhibited in a very extraordinary manner.

A late traveller in Greece remarked with astonishment, that many districts of this beautiful region, once distinguished by their exuberant fertility, were now become barren and unproductive.*

It appears, therefore, that by an almost necessary consequence, slavery produces a system of cultivation destructive to the fertility of the soil. When from the influence of these causes the estate of the planter has been impoverished, economy and good management become indispensable. "But it is found," says Hodgson, "by the experience of both ancient and modern times, that nothing has tended more to assimilate the condition of the slave to that of the free labourer, or actually to effect his emancipation, than the necessity imposed by circumstances of adopting the most economical mode of cultivation."

The first step in the progress of the ancient bondsmen of Europe "from a state of slavery to that of freedom," has been generally marked by the introduction of Task-work, or of a system which required a certain quota of labour, or the fruits of labour, from the slave, on condition of allowing him to enjoy the overplus of his industry.

In the United States this system has been already adopted, with unquestionable advantage to the slave; nothing, indeed, can conduce more immediately to the excitement of his voluntary efforts. "It seems the natural and easy transition from labour to industry; it forms in the mind of the slave those habits which are necessary for the character of the free man: it thus prepares him for enjoying, by a gradual change, those rights and privileges which belong to freedom."†

The same necessity of having recourse to the most economical mode of cultivation, will induce the planter to adopt many other considerable improvements. He has been hither-

* On this subject see Support of Slavery Investigated. By J. Cropper.
† See Hodgson's Letter to Say. Passim.

to accustomed to have recourse to the sinews of the slave for every thing; but he will soon learn that his interest may be greatly promoted by employing the labour of cattle *more*, and that of man *less*, by making use of the plough, and availing himself of the various modes of diminishing human labour, adopted with such great advantage in every free community.

He will next quickly discover "how much his interest is connected with the comfort of his slave; how much more profitable it is to divide with him the fruits of his free and strenuous exertions, than to monopolize the scanty produce of his compulsory toil. The rights of property, and the secure enjoyment of the fruits of labour will soon be extended to him, and the progress of his improvement will become constant and visible."

But slavery is a system so radically vicious and bad, that oppression and cruelty are necessary to its very existence, and every alleviating circumstance, every permanent intermixture of better principles, hastens that existence to a close. The moment you succeed in mitigating its harsher features, the moment you raise the slave to a more elevated condition in society, you provide, by an easy and natural course of things, for the ultimate and complete extinction of slavery.

As slaves, when well treated, increase as rapidly as free men, the natural consequence of that improvement in their condition which has been shewn to arise out of the interests of the master, will be an increase in the numbers of the slave population; and when a population becomes so numerous that it is difficult to find employment for them, slavery must soon cease.

A surplus population in a free country produces a rate of wages so low, that great industry and good management are necessary to earn a subsistence. Under such circumstances, *man can never possess any saleable value*, since it is obvious that his purchaser must be at the expence of supplying him

with the means of support; that is, he must give him all which his free and strenuous exertions could have obtained, before he can derive any benefit from his industry.

Ireland is at present in this situation, and let us mark the consequence. Instead of considering a poor Irishman of any value as property, we are willing to incur considerable expence in transporting him to a distant land.

In a state of slavery the course of things would be precisely the same. As soon as the slaves had increased beyond the usual means of employment, the desire of the planter to render their services valuable would induce him to have them instructed in various arts and manufactures, in order to make for himself many things which he has hitherto been accustomed to procure at a greater expence elsewhere. "During this state of things, the industry, the knowledge, and the habits of the slaves would be constantly improving by extended and varied employments; and necessity, or a desire to enjoy the fruits of their labour, would soon be found to operate just the same in warm as in cold climates; and would be gradually, but constantly, fitting them for freedom at the time when, from an increase of their numbers, or other circumstances, they would cease to have any saleable value; and when it would be a great hardship on their masters to compel them any longer to hold them in slavery."*

It is in this manner that slavery has been silently brought

* Support of Slavery Investigated, p. 23.

The late returns from the West Indies strongly confirm this part of our argument. The Bahamas have an unproductive soil, and slaves are comparatively of little value; but there the slave population is rapidly increasing. Demerara is productive, slaves sell very high, and yet they rapidly decrease. Barbadoes lies between the two extremes.—The following statement will shew the relative price of the slave, with the annual increase or decrease, and the annual number of manumissions in every 10,000 of the population in each of these three islands.

	Price.	*Manumissions.*	*Increase.*	*Decrease.*
Bahamas	£22	35	173	
Barbadoes	£28	12	33	
Demerara	£88	4½	—	166

to a termination in those countries of Europe where it has now ceased to exist. It is thus that it has been nearly extinguished in the East Indies, where, if any claims to servitude remain, we are assured by unexceptionable authority, that they are not enforced, because, from the cheapness of free labour, they are not worth enforcing.

But, granting the correctness of all we have hitherto been urging, it will now very naturally be asked—If free labour be cheaper than slave labour, why have not the obvious interests of the master, in all cases, induced him to have recourse to it? Why has not slavery itself already terminated, or, if it will thus terminate by the operation of natural causes alone, if it will die a natural death, why should we urge it to a sudden and perhaps premature dissolution?

In reply to these objections, it should be remembered, that man does not always act with an enlightened view to self-interest; "an old system is frequently not improved until not only a better is known, but also until *necessity* compels its adoption, and, least of all, are men to be expected to make changes which involve a voluntary resignation of power and dominion over their fellow-creatures. A bad system may exist as long as a very high price is obtained for the article produced. The high prices of Tropical productions on their first introduction into Europe, admitted of an expensive system. These prices were so high as to support slave cultivation in the absence of the planters from the management of their own concerns, an absence producing neglect, waste, and extravagance, which could not succeed in any other branch of the agriculture, commerce, or manufactures of this or any other country."*

In the United States it is probable the unfettered competition of free labour would soon put an end to slavery, did not the large tracts of rich unoccupied land in the back settlements, occasion such a constant drain of the population

* Support of Slavery Investigated, p. 4.

from the Old States as to counteract its effects, and even to produce an internal slave trade notoriously extensive.

In the West India Colonies of Great Britain, the productions of slave labour are maintained at a monopoly price by the bounties and protecting duties imposed and granted by this country for the benefit of the Planters; who have thus been enabled to continue their impolitic and oppressive system beyond the period at which it must, in the natural course of things, have given way to one more enlightened.

The West Indian monopoly is at present supported, first, by a bounty of upwards of six shillings per cwt.* on the export of refined sugar, and which necessarily raises the price not only of all such sugar exported, but of all the sugar consumed at home, to the extent of the bounty; and secondly, a protecting duty of ten shillings a cwt. more on East Indian than on West Indian sugar; thus favouring sugar grown by slave labour, in preference to that grown by free labour, to the extent of about 50 per cent. on the cost of the article, and tending to exclude the latter from our consumption, and to force us to consume the former. On coffee also the West Indies have a protection of 28s. a cwt. Now, to say nothing at present of the degree in which prices are raised by the operation of the protecting duty, the cost of the West Indian monopoly, arising from the sugar bounty alone, may be estimated at about £1,200,000 annually.† And it is this large

* This bounty has been reduced during the last Session of Parliament to 3s. per cwt.; the amount of the protecting duty still remains the same.

† This position has been questioned. It has been affirmed that the bounty, the extent of which is not denied, affects only the sugar which is exported. But such a statement can alone proceed from an entire ignorance of the facts of the case. The price of the sugar consumed in this country, and of that which is refined for exportation, is precisely the same in the sugar market. The bounty necessarily operates on the whole mass of sugar, as there cannot exist at the same moment, two prices of one article in the same market. The point, however, if there could exist a doubt upon it (though such a doubt cannot possibly exist in the mind of any commercial man), is fully conceded by the West Indians themselves. Mr. George Hibbert, the

sum (in addition to whatever enhancement of price may be produced by the protecting duty) paid by the people of this country to the growers of sugar, over and above what that sugar would otherwise cost, which does in fact chiefly maintain unimpaired and unreformed the wretched system of colonial bondage. The People of England are therefore the real upholders of Negro Slavery. Without their large contribution to its support, it could not fail to be rapidly mitigated, and eventually extinguished. It is absolutely vain, therefore, to be hoping to abolish slavery, or to expect that by the vehemence of our speeches, or the force of mere Parliamentary resolutions, or of Royal recommendations, we shall be able to abate this evil, while we are extending to it such solid marks of our favour, and thus affording to it its great and principal means of support.

It is calculated that there are in the West Indies about 1800 sugar plantations; among the proprietors of which the twelve hundred thousand pounds which the people of this country are forced to pay for their sugars, over and above what the same sugars would cost them if the trade were free, is of course divided, making on the average about £700 sterling annually to each proprietor; and this independently of the advantage, whatever it be, which he derives from the protecting duty. Now if it were proposed in Parliament to give to each of these 1800* West Indian proprietors pensions, varying in their amount from £500 to £5000 a year,

Agent of the island of Jamaica, in a letter to his constituents, dated the 11th of March, 1824, and published in the Royal Gazette of Jamaica of the 1st of May, 1824, distinctly states, that "*the advantage which we now enjoy in the principle and produce of calculating the drawback upon the export of refined sugar, taken altogether, is little, if at all short of a gratuitous bounty of six shillings per hundred weight.*"—See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

For a full explanation of the nature and effects of this bounty, see Relief of West Indian Distress. By James Cropper.

* This number is said to be over-rated by more than 200; if so, the case here stated would be greatly strengthened.

according to the quantity of sugar which each might extract by means of the cart-whip, from the labour of his slaves; and forming a total aggregate of one million two hundred thousand pounds, what reception would such a proposition meet with? Would it be tolerated for a single moment? And yet wherein does the actual state of things differ substantially from the case which has been supposed, except that, in this last, the transaction would stand forth to the public view in all its flagrancy, while, in the other, it is more concealed from observation; and that, in the one case, the money would be paid by the people into the Exchequer, before it went into the pockets of the sugar planters; and that, in the other, it is paid to them through the grocers in the price of their sugars. The payment is not the less real on that account.*

We *repeat*, then, that the People of England are the real upholders of Negro Slavery—"in opposition to the dictates of humanity, the precepts of religion, and the principles of political economy and impartial justice, we contribute more to perpetuate our own disgrace, than it would be deemed prudent to bestow in the purchase of the greatest blessing. All our plans of domestic improvement, joined to all the efforts which we make for the diffusion of religion and virtue in foreign nations—our Schools, our Bible Societies, and our Missions, justly considered as the peculiar glory of the age—cost us a mere scantling, compared to what is annually devoted to that very pious and benevolent object, the perpetuation of Slavery in the West Indies;—we throw mites into the treasury of the sanctuary, and heap ingots on the altar of Moloch."†

Great as this pecuniary sacrifice is, it is not all that we are called upon to make; we are called upon to support a system, the effects of which have ever been to hinder the progress of improvement, and to spread barbarism in its stead; a system everywhere marked by the destruction of

* Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† See Address of the Leicester Anti-Slavery Society.

the very soil, and still more by its tendency to the destruction of every virtuous and moral feeling, no less in the master than in the slave. We are called upon to bind down the energies of the country, and to exclude that competition which would certainly destroy this wretched system. The rapid extension of our commerce since its opening with South America and India, cramped and restricted as it still is, is abundantly sufficient to shew what that extension might have been under a conduct governed by more liberal and enlightened views. We have seen, for instance, the cotton trade, not only giving full employment to the population of the districts in England where it is now carried on, but, since the removal of some absurd regulations, we have seen with delight some branches of this trade extending to Ireland, and presenting the best means of improving and raising her depressed population! Had we but employed the means within our power, of diffusing employment, civilization, and comfort, over the regions of Asia, Africa, and America, we should long since have received in return, employment and comfort for the suffering and depressed, though generous-minded population of Ireland! and even now, if we will but pursue this policy, we shall soon reap an abundant reward.

But it might at least have been expected, that in sacrificing such immense national advantages, we should have had some manifest and palpable compensation in the enormous wealth and unparalleled prosperity of those for whose benefit the sacrifice is made. Is then the present system of colonial cultivation advantageous to the planters? If it be, of what do they complain? Have they not the unrestrained use and full controul of their slaves? Have they not the privilege of importing their produce at a less duty than other countries? Have they not bounties also on its re-exportation? Yet we hear every day that West Indian cultivation is no longer profitable, and that, without further sacrifices on the part of the mother country, the planters will be ruined. But can the planters suppose that this country is prepared to

make these further sacrifices? to submit to still heavier burthens for no other purpose than to support an unjust system, which is at the same time unprofitable, not only to the country but to themselves? Instead of looking any longer for such ruinous support, let them employ the means of improvement which are amply within their power. Let them examine what it is that enables their competitors to undersell them, and they will soon perceive the immense advantages of free over slave labour.*

But the real cause of their present distress may be readily discovered in the gross system of mismanagement to which our bounties and protections have given rise. In a petition to Parliament from the island of Antigna, in a late Session, the produce and expences of an estate are stated, in which about *two hundred and fifty pounds* are charged for oversight and management; the value of all its produce being, in the general markets of Europe and unaided by English bounty, only about £1050 sterling. Let the English landholder say if he could afford to pay such a sum for the oversight and management of 150 to 200 acres of land, which would yield as much gross produce; or, if he did pay it, whether he would not soon be under the necessity of mortgaging his estate.†

The non-residence of the Planters is also a peculiar evil of the British Colonial system.

That the residence of many of the land-owners of Ireland would improve their own revenues, and, still more, the condition of the Irish people, is a point which *few* would be

* Impolicy of Slavery.

† The following is one instance of this gross mismanagement. *Bricks* are enumerated in the Antigua petition among the supplies imported from this country. In deriving his supply of this article from this source, the *Proprietor of Slaves* pays from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per day to the *free labourer* of England for making them; notwithstanding the *gross amount* of the produce raised by the labour of 140 slaves, even with the benefit of the bounty, is only £1,427, or less than 7d. per day for the labour of each slave! !—See Relief of West Indian Distress.

found to dispute; and, on the other hand, that if they were to cultivate their own lands, and to attempt to raise cattle and corn by the agency of attorneys and overseers, they could not reasonably expect any revenues at all! And, in such a case, surely no one would be found to propose to give them a bounty to enable them to continue so improvident a system; yet this is what we actually do in regard to the West India planters.*

But the oppression and misery, and the consequent destruction of human life, which this system occasions, is the most appalling of all its consequences.

With prices of produce sometimes so low as not to pay for the importation of slaves, the slave population of the United States has augmented nearly one hundred and twenty-five per cent. in thirty years, and that from natural increase; if the importation from Africa, which was legal into some of the States for a short time in that period, did not exceed the amount of manumissions, which are estimated at about 100,000. Though this cannot be exactly ascertained, there can be no reasonable doubt that the natural increase must have been at least twenty-five per cent. in every ten years. But we need not now confine our comparison to the United States, for we have many cases in the West Indies to prove, that if the slaves were well treated, a similar increase would take place there, an increase which, in thirty years from this time, would make their numbers nearly 1,400,000, whilst in the same time, at the present rate of decrease, they would be reduced to little more than 550,000.

Does not a system, now proceeding at such a rate as to destroy the lives, or prevent the existence of 800,000 human beings in thirty years, imperiously demand investigation, and more especially when it is known that this destruction or prevention of life, is the chief means of keeping slavery in the British West India islands in existence; for with such

* See Impolicy of Slavery, and Support of Slavery Investigated.

increase, a great proportion of the population of many of the islands must have become free?

The pecuniary advantages of such an increase would be almost incalculable, and we have only to look at the United States to be convinced that these views are neither visionary nor speculative. The American cotton planters live on their estates, and have to depend on their own good management for success; whilst most of the British sugar planters reside in England, and are supported in their mismanagement by bounties and protections: if these were withdrawn, they would soon discover that in the good treatment of their slaves they would have ample compensation, and that a difference in their numbers of three per cent. per annum would be more than equal to a bounty of 6s. per cwt. on their sugar.*

It appears that in the island of Jamaica alone, the population is less by 400,000 slaves than, under proper management, it ought to be. If the treatment in the other colonies has produced a similar effect (and we have no reason to suppose it has been of a better description), the whole loss will be 800,000 slaves. Speaking of them merely as property, and estimating their price at £50 per head, this treatment has of itself occasioned a loss in property to the amazing extent of 40 millions sterling, in the short space of thirty years only.

It is to the continuance of this miserable system of neg-

* It it curious to estimate the effects of the bounty which we are paying for the support of Slavery. It enables the Planters to support a system of ill-treatment which decreases the number of their slaves at the rate of ¾ per cent. per annum, instead of their increasing at the rate of 2½ per cent. (as in the United States and elsewhere). We shall find the loss or destruction of property, and that property *human beings*, to amount, by the above calculation, to somewhere *about* 1,200,000 *per annum*, which is exactly the amount of the bounty we pay them.—Thus the bounty by which the price of sugar is raised, just reimburses the planters for the loss of their slaves by ill-treatment—take off the bounty, and the ill-treatment *must* cease.—See Relief of West Indian Distress, and Support of Slavery Investigated. Passim.

lect and cruelty, that the present distress of the colonists, of which we hear so much, can alone be attributed.

But for this, the planters, instead of becoming every day more deeply involved, would have shared in the rapid increase of prosperity which has attended the nation in general.

But let it not for one moment be forgotten, that the People of England are the real supporters of Slavery: and that, by a large annual pecuniary sacrifice, they not only uphold it in all its unmitigated malignity, but prevent the operation of a principle which would soon terminate its existence.

If it be an established truth "that free labour is cheaper than slave labour," the competition of the former must soon put an end to the slavery of our colonies, but for the factitious aid which we are affording it.

Wherever this aid has not been granted, the efficacy of such a competition has been proved in the most remarkable manner.

Forty years ago little or no Indigo was exported from British India. The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of slave labour. A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly discouraged in the first instance, yet, the duties being nearly equalized, their efforts were at length crowned with complete success. Such, indeed, has been the effect of British skill and capital united, when employed in calling free labour into action, that, notwithstanding the enormous freights (five times their present rate) which, for a time, the importers of it had to pay, the indigo of India has been gradually displacing from the market the indigo grown by slaves; until, at length, with the help of the free trade, and the lighter freights consequent upon it, there is not now one ounce of indigo the produce of slave labour, imported into Europe; while the value of the indigo grown in British India amounts

to nearly four millions sterling annually.* The only existing competitors in this branch of trade are the free labourers of Guatimala and the Caraccas; and their competition, which had for a time been nearly extinguished, is now only reviving with the new-born liberties of those regions.†

With the knowledge of this extraordinary fact, it is impossible to doubt that, but for the bounty on West India sugar and the protecting duty of 10s. per cwt. against all sugar raised in the East, slave labour must have yielded to free labour in the cultivation of this article also, which is the great staple of slavery.

Notwithstanding the oppressive weight of the latter impost—notwithstanding the aggravation of all the charges of transport by the distance of the place of its growth—notwithstanding the great imperfection and expensiveness of the rude process by which it is at present manufactured—notwithstanding the absence of encouragement from the application of British capital and skill to its production—notwithstanding all these disadvantages, some descriptions of the sugar of Hindostan come even now into direct competition with the sugars of the West Indies in the market of Great Britain. This single circumstance appears to be conclusive. It appears to prove clearly that the free-grown sugars of British India might be sold, if the present protecting duty were removed, considerably cheaper than the slave-grown sugar of the British West Indies.

These facts are of the highest importance, not only because they confirm the general principle for which we are contending, but because they lead to the great object of our

* When the above estimate was made the price of Indigo was very high. The average annual value of the article is about three millions sterling. It is not known that there is any indigo whatever cultivated by slave labour, although, from the nature of things, it may be difficult to ascertain it with certainty. The quantity, however, if any, must be exceedingly small.

† See Address of the Society for Mitigating Slavery, 9th of February, 1825.

enquiry, and point out a specific means by which we can effect the entire abolition of the slave trade and of slavery.

The Nineteenth Report of the African Institution, after detailing the ineffectual efforts of the British Government to restrain the ravages of the slave trade, concludes with the following observations:—

"Our own slave trade is extinct. But a state of things, such as at the institution of this Society, never could have been anticipated, has arisen since the peace: a new disturbing force is introduced which we have not the power of controuling; and the enemies of humanity have rushed in between us and our object, and threatened to bear it beyond our reach.

"As in the abolition of the slave trade we originally sought the mitigation of slavery, so we are now driven to consider, whether any other efficient means are left us, than that of reversing our course of proceeding, and whether we must not look henceforward to the mitigation and extinction of slavery as our only security for the abolition of the slave trade. We cannot, it is true, compel other nations to abandon it—it seems too probable that they are not to be persuaded; but by a determined encouragement of free labour, we may make it not worth pursuing."

But we may do more than this. By a determined encouragement of free labour we may not only compel other European nations to abandon the slave trade, by making it not worth their pursuit, but we may also compel our own colonial subjects, and the subjects of every other power in America, to abandon slavery itself.

Any laws we may enact for the mitigation of slavery can only reach a very small part of the evil. All British laws must be confined to the British dominions, and out of 5,600,000 slaves in the Western world, the British dominions contain only 720,000. Should we even emancipate our own slaves, there would still remain nearly 5,000,000 of the African race in a state of bondage.

But as the beneficial effects of the free cultivation of indigo by British skill and capital in the East, were not confined to the British colonies, but prepared the way for the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish dominions of America, so a similar competition of free labour in the raising of sugar and cotton, and other tropical productions now cultivated by slaves, would extend its benignant influence to every human being now held in slavery.

Legislative enactments may do a great deal to mitigate the evils of slavery in our own colonies; they may even terminate its existence *there*, and it is therefore our imperative duty to employ them; but if we ever hope to eradicate this deeply disgraceful institution from every country on the globe which it now desolates, it is to the unfettered competition of free-born industry alone that we can look with any rational prospect of success. In the case of indigo, the only article of slave production in which that competition has been fairly tried, its efficacy, as above-stated, has been signal and complete. It is a remarkable fact, that the first few chests of indigo, the produce of free labour in the East, arrived in England in 1787, just about the time when the first efforts were making for the abolition of the slave trade. We have witnessed the fate of those efforts—we have seen that, although incessantly exerted for thirty-eight years, they have not diminished to any perceptible amount the number of our fellow-creatures torn from the shores of Africa, or held in bondage in America. But during the same period, the cultivation of indigo by free labour has advanced with such rapidity in the East, that it is now estimated to employ nearly 500,000 free persons, and the article has ceased to be cultivated by slaves. As far, therefore, as this article is concerned, the competition of free labour, by a silent but sure operation, has effected the entire destruction of the slave trade and of slavery, and may be justly considered, at the present moment, to have saved 500,000 human beings, *amounting to nearly two-thirds*

of the whole slave population of our West India Colonies, from a cruel and degrading bondage.

But it has been ascertained by undoubted evidence, that the other tropical productions now raised in America and the West Indies by slaves, but more especially sugar, the great staple of slavery, may, as well as indigo, be cultivated in the East Indies at a much cheaper rate by the labour of free men. In regard to sugar, a mass of valuable information has been obtained from the records of the East India Company (see a Pamphlet entitled East India Sugar, &c.); and from this it now appears certain that if some simple and obvious improvements were adopted in the mode of its manufacture, it might be imported into this country so low as materially to undersell the sugar grown by slaves. It is only necessary, then, as in the case of indigo, to direct British skill and capital to the cultivation of sugar in this quarter, in order to put an end to its cultivation by slave labour, not only in the British colonies, but in every other part of the world. And when sugar shall cease to be cultivated by slaves, it may safely be assumed that the extinction of colonial slavery is at hand.

But as some doubt may remain as to the precise effects that would arise from gradually superseding slave-grown sugar by the competition of free labour, we now propose to delineate more particularly the important benefits which would attend it.

In tracing these it is highly gratifying to discover that, so far from relieving one class of men by a proportionate aggravation of the losses and sufferings of another, the measure we are contemplating will, by that beautiful connection of interest with duty, which has been before adverted to, exercise a beneficial influence upon all. We propose to shew that it will,

In the first place—Effect the entire Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Secondly—That it will improve the Situation of the Slave, and gradually raise him to the Condition of a Free Man.

Thirdly—That it will give an increased Value to the Property of the Master.

And, Fourthly—That it will be productive of important Benefits, not only to this Country and to Ireland, but to the continent of Africa and the vast Population of our Indian Empire.

1st. As soon as the indigo cultivated by free labour in the East had been brought to the markets of Europe in sufficient quantity, materially to supersede slave-grown indigo, it is obvious that the indigo planter of the West Indies, being no longer able to find profitable employment for the hands he already possessed, would need no further importation of slaves.* As far as regards that article, therefore, the slave trade must *then* have entirely ceased.

This trade is *now* chiefly maintained, in the dreadful extent to which it is carried on at present, by the demand for slaves among the sugar planters of Cuba and the Brazils. But if sugar were cultivated in the East by free labour, with the same success as indigo, the demand for slave-grown sugar would be instantly lessened, the quantity produced would be quickly diminished, and the sugar planter *also* would soon find himself in possession of a greater number of hands than he could profitably employ without a change in his system.

It is evident that from this moment he would cease to purchase *more* slaves, and from this moment, therefore, the slave trade, with all the crimes and desolations which attend it, would also cease for ever.†

* In about three years after the period at which free-grown indigo was first brought into the markets of Europe, the Carolinas, where that article was extensively cultivated, shut their ports against all further importation of slaves from Africa.

† The manner in which the competition of Free Labour would extinguish the Slave Trade may be also illustrated by viewing the subject in another

But, 2dly. It will now very naturally be objected, that if the demand for sugar is lessened, and the slave thrown out of employment, the change will be injurious to *him*. In this country, for example, an increased demand for any article enables the labourer in that branch of manufacture to obtain higher wages, to live better, and to work or not, just as he pleases; a diminished demand, on the contrary, deprives him of employment, and consequently of his usual means of subsistence. But in the case of the West Indian labourer these

ńght. This trade is kept up in its present deplorable extent notwithstanding the measures adopted to repress it, because the high price of slaves in the West Indies and America affords such an enormous profit to the trader as to be far more than equivalent to the risk of seizure incurred by him. But the course of things which we have described above, would quickly lessen this price so much as to leave a profit no longer adequate to the expence and risk of of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, and transpôrting them to America. From all the information we at present possess, it appears that the average cost of a slave when put on board, is at least five pounds sterling. Now if to this sum we add the necessary expences of the voyage, as well as the loss of life and risk of seizure, which, together, cannot well be estimated at less than ten pounds more, we have fifteen pounds for the cost of a negro when landed in America. But as no man would continue to pursue a commerce of this description unless it were attended with considerable profit, we may safely presume that, as soon as the value of the slave in the sugar plantations had been reduced, by the superior advantages of a system of free-born industry, to twenty, or even to twenty-five pounds, the trade would be quickly abandoned. In some of our colonies, and more particularly in those where, from the inferior fertility of the soil, and the better treatment consequent upon it, the population has for a considerable time been increasing in numbers, the value of the slave has been already reduced nearly to this point, and in some colonies even below it. It appears by the late Parliamentary Returns, that the present average price

In Barbadoes is	...	£28 0
Bahamas	...	£21 8
Tortola	...	£17 10
St. Vincent's	...	£16 15

It is probable, therefore, that even if a fresh importation of slaves into these islands were to be permitted by law, not a single slave would be taken to either of them, and the competition of free labour would thus put an end to the slave trade, at a period much antecedent to the final extinction of slavery itself.

recognised principles of political economy are reversed; and the cause of the difference is obvious; the one is a free man, the other is a slave. The increased demand in the case of the free man produces an increase in the rate of his wages. In the case of the slave, it may produce indeed a destructive increase in the rate of the labour exacted from him; but slaves receive no wages; they, therefore, derive no benefit, but, on the contrary, an aggravation of their uncompensated toil, by the increased demand for the produce of their labour.

The free labourer, in like manner, may suffer from low prices, either by the diminished rate of his wages, or by his being thrown out of work. But what does the slave suffer by being thrown out of work? What disadvantage can it be to him that the produce of labour is not in demand, unless we can suppose the master to hinder him, on that account, from cultivating his provision grounds as formerly, and to oblige him to sit down and starve in inaction during the time which the law allots to him for the raising of food.*

The West Indians, it is true, assert, that if the demand for their sugar should be lessened, and prices in consequence should fall, the slaves must starve. But in what way are low prices to operate in producing this effect? The food of the field slaves in general is raised entirely by their own hands, on the portion of ground allotted to them for that purpose, and cultivated during that fragment of their time (about one thirteenth part of the whole) which is specifically assigned them by law. Is it then by depriving the slaves of the land which had been set apart for their subsistence, and which the owner himself has now less temptation than ever to occupy, that starvation is to ensue? Or is it by depriving them, without any assignable object for so doing, of the scanty portion of time which the law allows them for cultivating their allotments? If not, how is it possible for them to starve?

* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Low prices of sugar cannot make the land less fit than it was before to produce the food of the negroes, or the slaves less capable of tilling it.*

The effect of a diminished demand for his labour will be to lessen the drudgery of the slave, who will enjoy a relaxation from his toil, which, if he could be profitably worked would never have fallen to his lot; while, from the fall in the value of his produce, the sugar planter will be brought into precisely the same situation as we have shewn to be produced by the deterioration of the soil (see page 89). He will now be compelled to exercise economy and judicious management, the first step to which is the better treatment of the slave; and his efforts to render the services of the latter still valuable to him, by supplying him with motives to exertion, by securing to him a reward for his hitherto uncompensated toil, by recognizing his rights, and by teaching him the many useful arts, and furnishing him with the varied employments of civilized society, will gradually prepare him for freedom, until the period when, by this improved treatment, the negro population shall have become so greatly augmented, that the claim to servitude will be no longer worth enforcing.†

3dly. These changes, produced by the competition of free labour, will prove ultimately no less beneficial to the interests of the master than the condition of the slave.

However paradoxical the position may at first appear, that a fall in the price of slave-grown produce, and a decrease in the value of the slaves would give an additional value to the property of the master, it can be established by a number of incontrovertible facts. Slavery is a bad and impolitic system, which has constantly proved a source of ruin to the planter.‡

* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, and Cropper's Pamphlet on the Beneficial Effects of Low Prices, and the Injurious Effects of High Prices on the Condition of the Slave.

† See Second Report, and Cropper's Pamphlet on High and Low Prices.

‡ For abundant evidence of this, see a Pamphlet entitled England Enslaved by her own Slave Colonies, by James Stephen, Esq. p. 32, 33, and

Slave cultivation is an expensive kind of machinery, which the competition of free labour compels him to abandon for one that is cheaper and better. Can he therefore fail to receive benefit from the change?

The slaves, it is true, will now cease to be of any value to him as property: but they will be raised to the condition of a free tenantry, their value will be more than transferred to the land, and his estate under a better system of management will quickly become more productive and yield a larger return of profit. He, as well as the slave, will be elevated in the scale of society; "from a slave-holder he will become a land-owner; from a poor oppressor of his fellow-creatures, he will be raised to the condition of an independent lord of the soil."

To establish the truth of these assertions it will be sufficient to refer to the instances already cited in the course of this enquiry (see p. 83 and seq.), of estates in Poland, "where the receipts have been nearly tripled" by a similar change—of the remarkable instance of improvement in Hungary, and of that of the Honourable Joshua Steele, in Barbadoes, where, "in the course of four years and three months, the annual net clearance of the estate had become *three times* greater than it had been for ten years previously.

To these a multitude of examples equally striking might be added; but we will cite only one.

"In a late communication from America," says A. Hodgson, "from an intelligent observer, it is remarked—'the state of Maryland, though a slave state, has comparatively but few slaves in the upper or western part of it; the land in this upper district is generally more broken by hills and stones, and is not so fertile as that on the southern and eastern parts. The latter has also the advantage of being situ-

34, from which we extract the following:—"The late able and eminent Colonial Agent, Mr. Marryat, in a speech in Parliament observes, '*there are few estates in the West Indies that have not during the last twenty years* (i. e. *from* 1793 *to* 1813) *been sold or given up to creditors.*'"

ated upon the navigable rivers that flow into the Chesapeake Bay, and its produce can be conveyed to market at one-third of the average expence of that from the upper parts of the state; yet, with all these advantages of soil, situation, and climate, the land within the slave district will not, upon a general average, sell for half as much per acre as that in the upper districts, which is cultivated principally by free men. This fact may be also further and more strikingly illustrated by the comparative value of land within the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the one lying on the south and the other on the north side of Maryland; the one a slave, the other a free state. In Virginia, land of the same natural soil and local advantages will not sell for one-third as high a price as the same description of land will command in Pennsylvania.' This single, plain, incontrovertible fact speaks volumes upon the relative value of slave and free labour, and, it is presumed, renders any further illustration unnecessary."*

4thly. We have seen that the competition of free labour in the cultivation of sugar would necessarily introduce new systems into our West India Colonies, would gradually ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and finally extinguish slavery itself. Its good effects, however, would not end here, but it would extend a yet wider and more beneficial influence.

* See Hodgson's Letter to Say, p. 12, 13.

The late Statistical Returns from the West Indies furnish a remarkable confirmation to these views. It appears by these returns that the distress of the planter in general runs parallel with the fertility of the soil he cultivates, and with the consequent high appreciation of his slaves. If we take the four colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad, and Honduras, where the average value of slaves is the highest, and the soil most fertile, we shall find the proportion of slaves taken and sold in execution in five years, to be as high as *one in twenty-eight* of the slave population; whereas in the other eight colonies from which we have returns of the sales in execution, St. Vincent's, Tortola, Bahamas, Nevis, St. Christopher's, Barbadoes, Dominica, and Grenada, and in which the prices are low, the proportion of slaves so sold is only one in sixty; and leaving out St. Vincent's and Tortola, which seem to involve some doubt, it is only *one in eighty*.

To the general prosperity of our country there are at present two grand exceptions, the West Indies and Ireland. The slavery of the West Indies, and the condition of a large part of the population of Ireland, form two dark places in the otherwise bright and cheering picture. It may, however, be incontestibly shewn, that the same cause which maintains the bondage of the colonial slaves, also serves to bind down the energies and prevent the prosperity of Ireland, and that the same remedy will tend to relieve them both.

The people of Ireland are in distress, they want employment, and agriculture cannot afford it; manufactures are therefore our only resource. But if a nation is to be set to work, new markets must be opened; and India can furnish a market if we will take her produce in exchange.

From the perfection of our cotton manufacture, we can now undersell the natives of India at the foot of their own looms. If the native who now makes cloth were employed in raising sugar there, the same labour required to make one piece of his own calico would raise sugar enough, if the duty were removed, to exchange for five pieces manufactured in England.

By an extended cultivation of sugar in the East, a demand would arise for our manufactures in that quarter, sufficient to employ the miserable and degraded population of Ireland; and when the people of Ireland are employed, that country will no longer remain a burden to us, but become an invaluable support to the strength and stability of our empire.*

* "Fourteen millions of people in Great Britain raise an annual revenue of more than fifty-two millions sterling. Seven millions of people in Ireland, if as fully employed as they are in Great Britain, would be able to raise twenty-six millions. In their present distressed and miserable condition, they raise a revenue, and that with great difficulty, of four or five millions. How largely, then, should we gain, even in revenue, by giving to Ireland the advantages of numerous manufactures and an extended trade. We might then take off more than a third of our present taxes."

For a full investigation of this important subject, see a Pamphlet on the State of Ireland. By James Cropper.

In addition to all these advantages, in addition to the vast increase of prosperity which England would derive from an unrestricted commerce in exchanging her manufactures for the productions of the tropics, she would make an actual saving of about three millions sterling annually, now spent in bounties on West India produce, and in establishments and armies to keep the slaves in subjection, and of the lives of 2000 soldiers sacrificed every year in the pestilential climate of the Antilles.*

If it should be supposed that by the cultivation of sugar and cotton in the East, we are only transferring the burden from one set of oppressed beings to another, we are happily able to shew, that directly the reverse of this would be the fact.

An increased demand for labour aggravates the oppression of the slave, but is always beneficial to the free man.

It has, indeed, been asserted, that there are slaves in India, and the objection has been much insisted on. Claims to servitude may still remain there, but it is admitted by a West Indian writer, that even there "they are not enforced, because they are not worth enforcing."

From the great population and the cheapness of labour, it is impossible, in the nature of things, that slavery can exist, and, except in some remote and less peopled districts, we have the most satisfactory evidence that it does not. All doubt upon the subject will be entirely set at rest by the perusal of a Pamphlet entitled, A Letter to W. W. Whitmore, Esq. in reply to some observations of J. Marryat, Esq. on the existence of Slavery in the East Indies, to which we refer the reader.

* Should the reader entertain any doubt of the immense sacrifices which we have already made, and are still making for the support of colonial slavery, he is referred to an admirable Pamphlet, entitled England Enslaved by her own Slave Colonies. By James Stephen, Esq. It is there calculated, from official data, "that during the last thirty-two years, one British soldier or seaman at the least, in the prime of life, has fallen a victim to the deathful service of the West Indies, for every white man, woman, and child that all our sugar colonies collectively contain ! ! !

But the cultivation of indigo has already proved so eminently beneficial to that part of the population of India employed in it, as to render it nearly certain that the cultivation of sugar and other articles would be productive of consequences equally gratifying.

" In the district of Terhout," says an intelligent observer, Captain M'Gowan, " where the British indigo planters are numerous and have long existed, there has undoubtedly and manifestly taken place a very happy improvement in the state of the natives, especially those connected, directly or indirectly, with the indigo planters, who are there so respectable, and in general so beloved, as to be resorted to by the peasantry around them to arbitrate their disputes, instead of going to law or appealing to force; also for communications of scientific, agricultural, mechanical, and other European discoveries; and, lastly, for advice and medicine in troubles and sickness."

What a vast field is opened, by means of an intercourse and influence like this, for diffusing the blessings of civilization and religious light among the many millions in India now sunk in ignorance and idolatry.

While India is receiving these inestimable benefits, Africa herself will advance with rapid progress in the career of improvement. Relieved from the scourge which has spread barbarism and desolation over her shores, she will soon commence a more beneficial intercourse with the nations of Europe. In the peaceful interchange of our manufactures for the varied productions of her free and fertile soil, a commerce will arise equally advantageous to both parties; and, by communicating the arts of civilized life and the knowledge of the Gospel to her children, we shall be enabled to make some reparation for the centuries of wrong which we have inflicted.

If such are the benefits which would arise from the unshackled competition of free labour, it becomes the imperative duty of every one to employ his most strenuous exertions

for bringing about an end of such inestimable importance. A strong expression of the popular voice is alone necessary: but before this can be obtained, the national conscience must be awakened to a sense of the enormity of slavery, and the public mind must be enlightened on the means of procuring its extinction. By diffusing information upon the subject among all classes of the community, by means of the books and tracts which relate to it, every single individual may do much to promote this object. Each in his own sphere may labour to engage the earnest attention and active co-operation of all whom he can influence. By labouring to combine the zeal and intelligence of his vicinage into associations for promoting the abolition of slavery, every individual may render a most important service to humanity, and become a concurrent instrument in dispensing unspeakable blessings to millions yet unborn. And surely no man who has a spark of love to his country, and who believes that verily there is a God that judgeth the earth, will refuse to employ his utmost powers in forwarding this great work, and in contributing to raise the wretched slave from his present state of abject depression, and intellectual and spiritual blindness, to light, liberty, and the hope of the Gospel.*

The great end to which our efforts should be, in the first place, directed, is, to obtain the removal of those monopolies which now form the main support of slavery. If these are withdrawn, it will soon cease of itself, and that with perfect safety and manifest advantage to all parties. It must be useless to make laws for abolishing slavery, as long as we suffer our own bounties and protections to counteract them.†

* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† Let it be for a moment supposed that we had succeeded in our efforts to induce foreign nations to abolish the slave trade, and that it had been made piracy, while we continued our bounties and protections. Sugar, as our planters expected, would probably have advanced, and with it the price of slaves; the inducements to smuggling would have increased, and the prediction of Bryan Edwards would have been verified, "that we might as well

Let us then use every effort in promoting petitions to the British Legislature, urging it to vindicate its own despised authority, but, above all, to sweep away those absurd restrictions which rivet the chains of the slave. It is impossible to believe that if the People of England knew all the deplorable consequences of the bounties which they pay, they would suffer them to continue for a single session longer.

The bounty is one means of enabling the planters to reside in England, and thereby to neglect their concerns, whilst the tremendous powers they possess have been delegated to others, and a comparative destruction of their property in human beings, which, when the present decrease is added to what might be the increase, nearly amounts to three and a half per cent. annually, has been taking place, which alone almost counterbalances the whole of the bounty.

We will for a moment suppose that this deterioration of property was not in the West Indies, but at Manchester; that a portion of the manufacturers were living in London, and leaving to others the management of their business; that they received a bounty on their manufactures, but that, on an average, this was absorbed in a destruction of about three and a half per cent. per annum on the goods, which would not have taken place under proper superintendence; and lastly, that the article destroyed was not mankind, but pieces of calico. Is it possible that such a system could go on for a single session after it was understood? And if it could not where the subject of it was inanimate merchandize, surely, for the honour of human nature, or the honour of our country, we ought not to suffer it to continue when the victims of neglect or ill treatment are our fellow-men!*

There is every reason to believe that the Government of

attempt to chain the wind, and give laws to the ocean, as to abolish the slave trade, while it was so much the interest of the planters to carry it on." In the enforcement of our laws we should be inflicting death upon the very persons whom our own bounties had tempted to violate them.

* See Cropper's Pamphlet on the State of Ireland.

this country is sincerely desirous to act in accordance with the real interests of the nation in this respect. The King's Speech at the opening of the session of 1825, has the following remarkable passage:—

"His Majesty recommends to you to persevere (as circumstances may allow) in the removal of similar restrictions on commerce: and his Majesty directs us to assure you, that you may rely on his Majesty's cordial co-operation in fostering and extending that commerce which, whilst it is, under the blessing of Providence, *a main source of strength and power to the country, contributes in no less a degree to the happiness and civilization of mankind.*"*

No doubt, then, can be reasonably entertained of the sincere intentions of the Ministry; but they have an interested and powerful faction to contend with, and they require to be supported by the unanimous voice of the people; and surely the people of this country will no longer continue to tolerate these absurd commercial regulations, by which they reject sugar when produced by the African in his own native and fertile soil, and at the same time give a bounty on his produce when converted into a slave, held in subjection by military force, and compelled to cultivate the exhausted soils of our West India islands.

"I call upon you then solemnly," says Mr. Stephen, "as fellow-countrymen and fellow-christians, to exert yourselves to the utmost on this great and interesting occasion. If you would prevent further sacrifices of your manufacturing, commercial, and maritime interests, of your revenues and military means, and of the security even of your colonies themselves; if you would maintain the independence and dignity of your Parliament, and its constitutional supremacy over the distant dependencies of the empire, without which they are a degrading incumbrance and a nuisance; if you would redeem the sacred pledges you have given to the unfortunate slaves,

* See King's Speech, 1825.

and prevent the perpetuation in them and their innocent offspring of a bondage disgraceful to the British and the Christian name; and if you would rescue yourselves from the abhorred necessity of imbruing your hands in their blood, when and as often as intolerable oppression urges them to a hopeless resistance—now, *now* is your time to be active."*

But even if these hopes should fail, if Parliament should refuse to legislate for the Colonies, or to take off the restrictive duties on the sugars of British India, one resource will yet be left to us. The labour of free men is so much cheaper than that of slaves, that in spite of these restrictions it will still be in the power of the friends of emancipation, by giving direct encouragement to the increased production of sugar by free labour, in no long time so to lower the cost of the article as to make it the clear interest not only of the whole population of the United Kingdom, but of all Europe, to give a preference to such sugar, and thus to lead them, of themselves and spontaneously, to contribute their assistance in depriving the existing system of slavery, in the foreign as well as in the British colonies, of its main support; and thus also to put a final period to that slave trade which, to the indelible disgrace of certain European powers, and in contempt of their solemn engagements, still prevails under their flags on the coast of Africa.

The British dominions in Asia are well adapted to the growth of this article, and are capable of supplying it to an indefinite extent; but from the unskilfulness of the natives in the process of manufacturing it, combined with their want of capital and the fiscal restrictions to which it is subject, little progress has hitherto been made in introducing the sugar of that part of the world into general consumption. If effectual means, however, were adopted for obviating these disadvantages, the sugar trade of British India could not fail rapidly to increase. The requisite means to this end have been fully

* See England Enslaved, &c. p. 80, 81.

pointed out in a small pamphlet published by Hatchard, and entitled, "East India Sugar; or an Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies."

That East India Sugar may be made a profitable article of culture, even under all the disadvantages with which it has to contend, no one who candidly examines the evidence there produced will doubt.

In a country, however, circumstanced as India is, the same means of promoting the culture of sugar must be resorted to which have proved so signally successful in the case of indigo. British capital and British intelligence must give the necessary direction and impulse to the industry of the native farmer. With that view, information on the subject has already been widely diffused; and much attention has of late been turned to this object and to the means of attaining it. Still, if it should be left entirely to individual enterprise to excite the industry either of the Hindoos or of the free labourers in other tropical countries, the progress of things to this consummation would probably be slow.

In order to accelerate it, a Company has been formed, under the title of *The Tropical Free Labour Company*. The object of this Company is to promote the growth and improve the manufacture of sugar and other tropical productions by free labour, in every part of the world where it may be practicable, but, at present, more especially in British India; and to facilitate the admission of these productions into general use, not only in the united kingdom, but in every other part of the world. A particular description of the methods by which the Company proposes to effect these objects, and of the plan on which it will be conducted, will be found in a prospectus already published, and in Appendix E to the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society. As the shares are very small, it is in the power of every individual, by taking a larger or a smaller number, to lend his efficient support to a measure which, if it succeed, must eventually tend to under-

mine the very foundation on which rests the slavery not only of the 800,000 negroes in the Colonies of Great Britain, but of the four or five millions who are held in bondage in other parts of the Western world; and to put a final termination also to the slave trade, which is the disgrace of Europe and the scourge of Africa.*

But there is yet another method by which individual exertions may effectually assist in promoting the competition of free labour. At present, as we have stated, the culture of sugar in British India is but in its infancy, and labours under all the disadvantages of an infant trade. The manufacture is miserably imperfect and highly injurious to the quality of the article produced, which is afterwards burdened with the heavy freight of a voyage to Europe and an additional duty of 10s. per cwt. in this country beyond what is imposed upon slave-grown sugar. Under these circumstances, we cannot be surprised that it is still somewhat dearer to the consumer, but it should rather excite surprise, that it can compete with slave-grown sugar at all. But as a continued increase of demand will most effectually promote the flow of British capital to its cultivation, and the consequent extension and improvement of the manufacture, it is a matter of great importance that this demand should be kept up in order to foster the trade and to hasten the period at which it may be introduced at a cheaper rate.

A wide field is therefore open for individual exertion in promoting the consumption of free-labour sugar, on grounds

* We regret to say that this Company has been recently dissolved. As soon as a sufficient number of shares had been subscribed for, the Provisional Committee used their utmost efforts to get the Association legally incorporated. They first endeavoured to obtain an Act of Parliament for this purpose, and afterwards tried to effect their object by a Petition to the King in Council, but were alike unsuccessful in both, and it was in consequence found necessary to relinquish the undertaking. It will be difficult to account for the decision of the Ministry upon this occasion—a decision so much at variance with their avowed principles—unless we attribute it to the powerful influence of the West India Body.

of benevolence, in preference to that grown by slaves. All the efforts which the Friends of the Abolition of Slavery have hitherto used for this purpose have proved signally successful, and have afforded good ground to hope, that if all other means should fail, the great object of their endeavours might be attained by inducing a general preference for the productions of freedom.

But there is one consideration which greatly enhances the importance of our labours for this object—that let the result of other efforts be what it may, they cannot fail of producing an important effect. Whether the restrictive duties be or be not abolished, these efforts must tend to accelerate the triumph of free labour and the downfal of slavery.

And let no one be tempted to consider his individual exertions for such an object unimportant, or the benefits that will arise from them uncertain. It is true that innumerable efforts will be necessary for accomplishing the end we have in view; but that end is itself of such vast importance, that the value of every single effort cannot be too highly estimated. When we reflect that more than five millions of our fellow-creatures are existing at the present moment in the lowest state of moral and physical degradation, and, above all, when we consider that at least three hundred unhappy beings are computed to be *every day* torn from their country* and from all that is dear to them in life, and consigned to the same hapless condition of servitude, it is impossible, surely, to believe that any thing is unimportant which tends in the

* In Appendix N, of the last Report (the Twentieth) of the African Institution, we have a list of 230 vessels known to be engaged in the Slave Trade, as reported in the papers on that subject presented to Parliament in the Session of 1826. Now if we suppose this list to comprehend all the vessels actually engaged in the trade, which is scarcely probable, and allow a cargo of 250 slaves on the average to each vessel, and if we also reckon two voyages to be made annually, we have an aggregate of 115,000 slaves carried away every year from Africa, *being more than three hundred every day.*

smallest degree to hasten the period at which evils of such magnitude shall cease.

If the final extinction of the slave trade were the only object we sought to accomplish, and if our united efforts were only to hasten the period of that extinction *a single day*, we should even then have effected much. But if there be any truth in the principles we have attempted to unfold, our exertions to procure a preference for the produce of free labour will, in the end, prevent the ravages of this trade, not for *days* only, but for *years* and for *centuries*. How vast, then, may be the amount of human crime and human suffering which the feeblest labourer in this field of exertion will be instrumental in sweeping away for ever.

It is a very common objection to the measures which it has been a main object of this publication to recommend, that they would bring ruin upon the West Indian Proprietors. But it has been, we trust, satisfactorily shewn, that if there be truth in history, or certainty in political science, the downfal of the present system, and of the restrictive laws which maintain it, would prove beneficial to none more than to the colonists themselves.

Yet, if it were otherwise, it is too much to require that the pecuniary interests of 1600 or 1800 sugar planters should be allowed to come into competition with the comfort, the health, the liberty, and the lives of seven or eight hundred thousand human beings, and with the clear interests of the whole community of the British empire.

If the Planters, however, can make out an equitable claim to compensation, let them by all means receive it. They might be indemnified for any possible loss by a very small portion of what the country would gain by the adoption of a more enlightened policy. The vast national advantages which would arise from such a policy have been already insisted on. The amount of the bounty alone, the saving of which forms but a small portion of these advantages, if paid

directly to the Planters, would amply compensate them for any losses they might incur.*

"But let it be supposed," says Stephen, "as between the Planter and the State, compensation ought to be a simultaneous measure with reform, or, if you will, a previous one; still, what is the reference to the one, as an *objection* to the other, but a shameful appeal to the avarice or economical prudence of the country against its honour and its conscience? To the moral rights of the slave it is just as valid a bar as a plea of associated robbers would be against making restitution to the injured party, that it would require a contribution from the gang. Even this illustration is inadequate, for the question here is, not merely whether we shall restore, but whether, as the alternative, we shall add wrong to wrong, inflicting the same calamities on generations yet unborn, enslaving the offspring lest we should have to pay for the redemption of the parents, and subduing all resistance from either by the effusion of innocent blood."†

But there is yet one more objection which is often made, and which has lately in particular been much urged by the opponents of emancipation. Acknowledging the truth of our general principles, it is said that such is the incurable indolence and deep degradation of the negro character, that when the West Indian slaves become free, they will remain insensible to the motives which operate upon the rest of mankind. It is asserted that they will refuse to work, that all industry and exertion will be at an end, and that they will merge again into the state of savages. If, however, proof were wanting of the industry which the emancipated sons of Africa may be expected to exert, we have only to look at the state of the free black and coloured population in our own colonies. They are there a contemned and degraded race,

* See on this subject, Cropper's Relief of West Indian Distress, and Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† England Enslaved by her own Slave Colonies, p. 79.

labouring under numerous disabilities which leave them free but in name. Their efforts are cramped and limited by oppressive regulations, and they are excluded from all public employment either civil or military. Let their education, their intelligence, their respectability, their property, be what it may, they are shut out from exercising the most ordinary rights of citizenship, even the right of sitting on juries or of voting as freeholders. With them the very lowest white disdains to associate, says Mr. Edwards, and "holds it an abomination even to eat bread." And yet, labouring under all these multiplied disabilities and discouragements, "tending," as the same author justly observes, "to degrade them in their own eyes and in the eyes of the community, to make them at once wretched and useless, without motives of sufficient energy to engage them either in the service of their country or in profitable labour for their own advantage; their improvement in knowledge being animated by no encouragement, their attachment being received without approbation, and their diligence exerted without reward; yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, what the people of colour have actually done to surmount them, and to raise themselves in the scale of society, has been in the highest degree creditable to their character and powers, and affords a most encouraging earnest of what may be expected from them under more auspicious circumstances, and when they shall be admitted to a full participation in the rights of British subjects."

In the island of Trinidad, a full half of the property is said to belong to emancipated Africans or their descendants; and it has never been charged upon them there, that they are deficient in industry and intelligence, or that they do not fulfil the part of good and loyal citizens.

In Grenada, the free black and coloured inhabitants are more than three times as numerous as the whites. Two years ago they petitioned the Assembly for an extension of their civil rights, grounding the claim on their tried loyalty, their patience and good conduct, their intelligence and respect-

ability, the largeness of their property and of their contributions to the revenue of the island, as well as on their importance, as a militia, to its defence and security. In the resolutions adopted by the Assembly in consequence of this petition, these claims to consideration are fully admitted, and the persons petitioning are declared to be " a respectable, well behaved class of the community, and possessed of considerable property in the colony."

In Jamaica also, which is now said to contain 40,000 free black and coloured inhabitants, a number far exceeding that of the whites, it is only necessary to call for the tax-rolls in order to see how largely they contribute to the revenue of the island, and consequently how efficiently their industry must be exerted. They all, at the least, entirely maintain themselves, and many of them are wealthy. And yet, in Jamaica, as in other colonies, they still labour under severe disqualications, and continue to be a degraded and contemned race.*

In addition to these facts, there is one circumstance not generally known, which must be deemed conclusive as to the energy and activity of the negro character. It is this, that among the free black and coloured population of our colonies, numerous as it is, *there are very few paupers.* This is the case in every colony, but in St. Lucia the correctness of the assertion has been very recently confirmed in the correspondence between Earl Bathurst and the Governor, General Mainwaring, on the subject of the new laws.

Lord Bathurst had proposed to require a bond, in case of the manumission of children under a certain age, to prevent their becoming chargeable to the island. General Mainwaring (not being aware how strongly, with a view to defend taxes, bonds, &c. in cases of manumission, the West Indians generally had dwelt on the dangers of pauperism), answers, with great simplicity, " I cannot conceive a case in which

* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

such a bond would be necessary for children under the existing order of things: your Lordship may not be aware that *there are no paupers in this colony*"—obviously meaning no free persons who are paupers.*

But the returns made to the House of Commons during the last Session, and ordered to be printed on the 9th of May, 1826, furnish still more recent and decisive evidence upon this subject.

It appears by these returns, that in Barbadoes the average annual number of paupers in nine parishes is 998, *all of whom, with a single exception, are white*, although the free black and coloured inhabitants amount, to at least, 4 or 5,000.

In Dominica, where the free black and coloured population amounts to 3,122, only ten persons of that class had received relief from the poor fund during a period of five years.

Grenada furnishes a still more striking exemplification of the independence of the free black and coloured population. They amounted in 1825 to 3,486, but in this island the expence of the Colony Hospital, which alone appears to give relief to paupers, is only £264 sterling per annum, and even this includes the salaries of officers, the treasurer having £50 sterling a year. But it does not appear that any part of this small sum was applied to the relief of free blacks or persons of colour.

In St. Vincent's the white population of the island is stated in 1825 to be 1,301; the free black and coloured population, 2,824. "We have never had," says Sir C. Brisbane, the Governor, "any poor's-rate or other taxes levied for the support of the poor. The few paupers, *always white*, who occasionally resort hither, are generally supported from the town funds."

In Jamaica it appears that the proportion of white pau-

* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 97.

pers to those of the black and coloured class, according to the whole population of each, is as four to one:

In Nevis as twenty-eight to one.

In Tortola as fourteen to one.

In short, in a population of free blacks and people of colour amounting to from 80,000 to 90,000, only 229 persons have received relief, however small, as paupers, being about one in each 370 persons, exhibiting altogether an example of ease and independence not to be paralleled in any other part of the British dominions, or among any other class of his Majesty's subjects.*

But if no other facts were in existence, the example of Hayti alone would be amply sufficient to prove the energy and industry of the emancipated African. There the slaves were to the full as depressed as our slaves now are, and much more ignorant. They have been engaged also in a struggle for liberty through a long protracted period of blood and desolation, of confusion and anarchy. Twenty years of sanguinary conflict of the most barbarizing description, sometimes with foreign, sometimes with domestic enemies, were little calculated to train them to habits of industry, or to the arts of peace. And yet what do we witness in their case? They have contrived, in the period which has since elapsed, at least to maintain themselves without any foreign aid. Though it was necessary, and still unhappily is necessary, to keep a large portion of the ablest and most active labourers under arms (who are of course sustained by the labour of the rest), their own exertions have alone ministered to their subsistence, as well as defrayed the entire expenditure of the state. They have not only abundantly supplied their wants by their own labour, but they have nearly, if not more than doubled their numbers in twenty years. And while they have done this, they have been advancing in intelligence, respectability, and wealth. Schools have been multiplied

* See Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, No. 19.

among them—knowledge has been widely diffused—the arts of civilized life have been cultivated—the reign of order and law has been established—security has been given to property—and industry, having its reward, has been progressively extending its boundaries.*

It cannot, then, be necessary to dwell any longer upon this part of the subject. In Europe the cultivators of the soil were once enslaved; and with the evidence of facts like these, it is impossible to doubt that the emancipation of the negro race would be attended with a success as brilliant as that of the bondsmen of Europe.

"The enfranchisement of the European population," observes Ganihl, "has been followed by tillage and cultivation, by the conversion of cabins into cottages, hamlets into villages, villages into towns, and towns into cities, by the establishment of industry and commerce, of public order, and of social power.

"The people who have first distinguished themselves on the political theatre are precisely those who have first substituted the labour of the free man for that of the slave; and other nations have only been able to rise to the same prosperity by imitating their example. In fine, the era of the economical and political regeneration of modern Europe is coincident with the abolition of real and personal slavery."

"And why may not the same glorious consequences," says Hodgson in his letter to Say, "follow the abolition of slavery in the West. Is it in Europe only that the mind can awake from the torpor of slavery to life and intelligence? What shall we say, then, to the abolition of slavery, under British auspices, in Ceylon, in Java, in Sumatra, and in St. Helena? Or is it the African alone who imbibes a poison from the bitter cup which no antidote can cure, but which flows in the veins, and attaints the blood of his latest posterity? To you, Sir, it would be most unjust to impute such an opinion; but if it should be entertained by any of your country-

* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

men, I would refer them to the experiment lately made in Colombia, where a great body of slaves have been emancipated, who are said 'to have conducted themselves with a degree of industry, sobriety, and order, highly creditable to them.' I would refer them to the instance of the American slaves who joined the British standard in the last war, and who are now settled in Trinidad, where, under the protection of Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor, 'they are earning their subsistence,' Mr. Wilberforce informs us, 'with so much industry and good conduct, as to have put to silence all the calumnies which were first urged against the measure.' I would refer them to the testimony of a traveller whose authority they will not dispute, the enterprising and philosophical Humboldt. 'In all these excursions,' he observes, 'we were agreeably surprised, not only at the progress of agriculture, but the increase of a free, laborious population, accustomed to toil, and too poor to rely on the assistance of slaves. White and black farmers had every where separate establishments. I love to dwell on these details of colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe what to the enlightened inhabitants of the colonies has long ceased to be doubtful, that the continent of Spanish America can produce sugar and indigo by free hands, and that the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and land-holders.' I would refer them to the interesting and flourishing colony of Sierra Leone, that morning star of Africa, which beams so brightly on her sable brow. Or, lastly, I would refer them to a dark page in your Colonial history, where the refutation of their opinion is written in characters of fire.

"Why, then, I would ask again, may not the same glorious consequences which followed the abolition of slavery in Europe, follow its abolition in the West? 'The abolition of the slave trade,' says Brougham, '*assisted by subordinate arrangements, similar to those adopted in the ancient states, in the feudal kingdoms, and in the American colonies*, will

most undoubtedly alter the whole face of things in the new world. The negroes, placed in almost the same circumstances with the bondmen of ancient Europe and the slaves of the classic times, will begin the same career of improvement. The society of the West Indies will no longer be that anomalous, defective, and disgusting monster of political existence, which we have so often been forced to contemplate in the course of this inquiry. The foundation of rapid improvement will be securely laid, both for the whites, the negroes, and the mixed race. A strong and compact political structure will arise under the influence of a mild, civilized, and enlightened system. The vast continent of Africa will keep pace with the quick improvement of the world which she has peopled; and in those regions where, as yet, only the war-whoop, the lash, and the cries of misery have divided with the beasts the silence of the desert, our children, and the children of our slaves, may enjoy the delightful prospect of that benign and splendid reign which is exercised by the arts, the sciences, and the virtues of modern Europe.' "

FINIS.